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## PREFACE

This, the second part of AIO's new edition of the Attic inscriptions in the British Museum,<sup>1</sup> includes the seventeen decrees of the Athenian Council and People in the collection. Ranging in date from ca. 475-450 BC to ca. 220 AD they span almost the entire chronological range of Athenian decree-inscribing, supplying a series of illuminating snapshots of the city's policy-making, and the development of its democracy and decree-inscribing habits, across seven centuries.

Just two of these inscriptions were not included by Hicks in *GIBM* I (1874) (7, 10), but the texts of the other fifteen and our understanding of their historical contexts have been transformed since then by the progress of scholarship. This includes in nine cases the discovery or identification in the meantime of fragments that belong to the same or a closely related inscription (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 11, 15, 16, 17). Some of this epigraphical progress is of long-standing, but some is more recent, and some is altogether new. This edition reflects, for example, a newly published arrangement of the fragments of the important decree of 394/3 BC honouring Euagoras of Salamis (7) (Matthaiou 2019); significant new readings and analysis of two fourth-century honorific decrees, 8 and 9; and reassessments of major inscriptions such as the decree making arrangements for Hestiaia on Euboea in the period of the Athenian Empire (3) and the early-third century decree honouring Spartokos III of the Bosporan kingdom (12), an important document of the Athenian grain supply.

As well as a guide to the BM's collection of Athenian decrees, this part of *AIUK* 4 is designed as a general reference point for decrees of the Council and Assembly on AIO. The introductory section 2 has been written with that broader purpose in mind and includes general discussions of matters such as the relationship between the Council and Assembly, of decree prescripts, the Athenian calendar and dating.

As in *AIUK* 4.1 the bibliographies supplied for each inscription are selective, limited for the most part to key items for establishing the text of an inscription in the BM and its original location, findspot and acquisition. With inscriptions whose publication history is mostly long and complex this is a necessary policy if we are to avoid our editions becoming unwieldy and padded with outdated references. In particular, items of bibliography which pre-date Boeckh's *CIG* I (1828) are not systematically recorded. Entries in that work which contain references to earlier publications are marked with an asterisk (\*).<sup>2</sup>

Also as in *AIUK* 4.1 I do not attempt to describe the display history of the inscriptions, but note their location within the Museum when the autopsy for this edition was carried out.

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<sup>1</sup> On the rationale for the new edition see the Preface to [AIUK 4.1](#).

<sup>2</sup> The earlier work most commonly cited in *CIG* is F. Osann, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Antiquarum Graecarum et Latinarum*, a corpus of Greek inscriptions divided into sections by collection. It was published as a whole in 1834, including as section 1, *Marmora Elginiana e Museo Britannico cum Appendice aliorum titulorum in variis Britanniae Museis conservatorum*. It had previously been published in fascicules from 1822 (Osann, p. v, Praefatio, n. 1) and as such was available to Boeckh.

## Preface

Thanks are due once again to the responsible British Museum curators, Peter Higgs and Alexandra Villing, for their helpful collaboration, to Alex Truscott for facilitating autopsies of the stones, to the BM photographic department and to my brother, Julian, for images reproduced here. I am grateful to the participants in the workshop in honour of Leslie Threatte at the Epigraphical Museum, Athens, October 2018, and especially to Angelos Matthaïou and Voula Bardani, for their comments on preliminary versions of **8** and **9** presented there. Josine Blok, Peter Liddel, Polly Low, William Mack, Angelos Matthaïou, Douglas Olson, Peter Rhodes, Peter Thonemann and an anonymous reader helped to improve this work by their acute comments and suggestions on a draft. **12** has benefited from the scrutiny of David Braund. I am grateful to Robert Pitt for his notes on his autopsy of **3**, for access to his squeezes of this and other inscriptions, and for valuable information on collection history. Angelos Matthaïou kindly supplied a copy of his new edition of **7** in advance of publication and offered helpful suggestions on my own draft. Georgia Malouchou shared valuable information about the early modern topography of Athens. Mirko Canevaro responded helpfully to queries about laws and decrees in the manuscripts of the Attic orators; Floris van den Eijnde to queries about the archaeology of the Eleusinian Mysteries. Josine Blok, David Braund, Andrea Giannotti, Peter Liddel, Matthew Simonton, Peter Thonemann and Kai Trampedach generously permitted me access to their work prior to publication. Julian Schneider's editions of the other post-Sullan ephebic decrees for AIO helped to contextualise the treatment of **16** in this edition. The British School at Athens and its excellent library has continued to supply an ideal base for my work, and in preparing this part of the BM volume I also benefited from the libraries of the American and French Schools at Athens, the Greek and Roman Department of the BM, the Institute of Classical Studies, London, and the University of Heidelberg. The staff of the Epigraphical Museum, Athens, and of the Agora Excavations kindly permitted me to study relevant fragments in their keeping. As ever, Irene Vagionakis worked tirelessly behind the scenes, helping prepare this part of *AIUK* for publication and the accompanying material on the AIO main site.

## ABBREVIATIONS

I use the abbreviations for epigraphical works listed at <https://www.atticinscriptions.com/browse/bysource/> and in addition:

*Agora X*: M. L. Lang and M. Crosby eds., *The Athenian Agora. Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. X Weights, Measures and Tokens* (1964)

*Agora XXXI*: M. M. Miles ed., *The Athenian Agora. Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. XXXI The City Eleusinion* (1998)

*Agora XXXVIII*: C. L. Lawton ed., *The Athenian Agora. Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. XXXVIII Votive Reliefs* (2017)

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*APF*: J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families* (1971)

*ATL*: B. D. Meritt, H. T. Wade-Gery, M. F. McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists* (1939-1953)

Austin 1938: R. P. Austin, *The Stoichedon Style in Greek Inscriptions*

Biris 1940: K. E. Biris (Κ. Η. Μπίρης), Αἱ ἐκκλησίαι τῶν παλαιῶν Ἀθηναίων

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- Chandler 1774: R. Chandler, *Inscriptiones antiquae* (Pars II)
- CIG: A. Boeckh ed., *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* (I [including Attica] 1828, II 1843, III [with J. Franz] 1853, IV *Indices* [H. Roehl] 1877)
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## **1. THE COLLECTION OF DECREES OF THE ATHENIAN COUNCIL AND ASSEMBLY IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM**

All but three of the British Museum's seventeen decrees of the Athenian Council and Assembly were acquired in Athens in the years after 1801 by Lord Elgin, or by Giovanni Battista Lusieri on his behalf, and were included among the objects purchased by Parliament and transferred to the British Museum in 1816.<sup>3</sup> As with nearly all the inscriptions collected by Elgin, there is no record of findspots.<sup>4</sup> However, circumstantial reasoning suggests that most were found on the Acropolis, while a few were acquired in the lower city. From the mid-fifth century BC to the third century AD the Acropolis was the most common location for inscribed decrees of the Athenian Council and Assembly, though other locations, especially the Agora, became commoner in the Hellenistic period.<sup>5</sup> The majority of decree inscriptions that are known to have been set up on the Acropolis (on the basis, for example, of clauses specifying place of erection) were still there at the time of their modern discovery, though some had wandered down to the lower city in the meantime. Movement of inscriptions up to the Acropolis between the time they were first set up and their modern discovery is much less common, but did occasionally occur.<sup>6</sup> Thus it is *prima facie* likely that most of these fourteen inscriptions were discovered by Lusieri under the terms of Elgin's original firman, which granted permission to undertake excavations on the Acropolis "when they find it necessary, of the foundations, in search of inscribed blocks perhaps preserved among the rubble" and required "that no one ... hinder them from taking away any pieces of stone with inscriptions, and figures".<sup>7</sup>

There are good circumstantial indications that fragment *b* of [12](#), the early third-century BC decree for Spartokos III of the Bosporan kingdom, was found by Lusieri on the Acropolis. The decree's inscribing clause provides that it be erected on the Acropolis (ll. 52-54) and a generation before Elgin Richard Chandler reported that the fragment was built into the floor of the portico of the mosque there.<sup>8</sup> Fragment *a* of the inscription was also found on the Acropolis.

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<sup>3</sup> On the Attic inscriptions among the "Elgin marbles" see [AIUK 4.1 \(BM, Cult Provisions\)](#), pp. 1-4; on the small number of Attic inscriptions retained at Lord Elgin's Scottish seat, [AIUK 8 \(Broomhall\)](#). It is notable that a disproportionate number of the decrees collected by Elgin, six out of fourteen, date to the fifth century BC, though it is not clear whether this reflects deliberate choice or accident of discovery.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. [AIUK 4.1 \(BM, Cult Provisions\)](#), p. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Liddel 2003. On the establishment of the Acropolis as "default location" for Athenian state decrees ca. 450 BC see also *IALD* II, 21-30; AIO's edition of [IG I<sup>3</sup> 8](#), with notes; Trampedach forthcoming.

<sup>6</sup> On these patterns cf. *IALD* II, 21-22.

<sup>7</sup> [AIUK 4.1 \(BM, Cult Provisions\)](#), p. 2.

<sup>8</sup> "... in pavimento porticus Moscheae infixa, et pedibus admodum trita" ("built into the floor of the portico of the mosque, and somewhat foot-worn"), Chandler 1774, xxiii, cf. 51. It was very plausibly in the process of extraction of the fragment by Lusieri from the floor of this mosque that a chunk of the stone was lost, taking with it the right ends of ll. 17-42, which had been read by Chandler, but are no longer preserved. On Chandler's visit to Athens in 1765-66 see [AIUK 4.1 \(BM, Cult Provisions\)](#), pp. 1-3.

In the second half of the fifth century BC the Acropolis was the location par excellence for inscriptions relating to the Athenian Empire, and it is uncontroversial that Kleinias' decree relating to the tribute, [5](#), will have been placed there, though the decree's inscribing clause does not survive. The three other surviving fragments (*a*, *b*, *d*) all have recorded Acropolis findspots and it is very plausible that Elgin's fragment (*c*) was found in the same place.<sup>9</sup> Similarly, though there are no indications to confirm or contradict it, an original Acropolis location, and a putative Acropolis findspot, are plausible enough for the treaty with Rhegion, [4](#), and the honorific decrees, [8](#), [9](#) and [13](#). The decree on building a temple, [6](#), may also have been erected on the Acropolis, but if the temple was not on the Acropolis (if, say, it was the Hephaisteion), the decree may have been located at the site of the temple and found in the same vicinity.

In other cases too the circumstantial evidence is equivocal. Like the Kleinias decree, there is little doubt that the decree or decrees of perhaps the mid-fifth century making provisions for Erythrai, the most substantial fragment of which is [IG I<sup>3</sup> 14](#), was or were set up on the Acropolis. The small fragment acquired by Elgin, [2](#) (= [IG I<sup>3</sup> 15 a](#)), is one of four other fragments that belong, or might belong, to this group.<sup>10</sup> Two of the group, [IG I<sup>3</sup> 14](#) and [15 d](#), have recorded Acropolis findspots;<sup>11</sup> but the hazards of drawing an inference that Lusieri found [2](#) on the Acropolis are apparent from the fragments of [IG I<sup>3</sup> 16](#), which were found in the Agora, though their attribution to this group is uncertain.<sup>12</sup>

The BM fragment of the late fourth-century decree honouring Asandros of Macedon, [11](#), had been seen by Chandler a generation earlier built into the floor of the house of a Turk on the Acropolis, but had not been removed by him.<sup>13</sup> It is not implausible that, as with the extraction of Elgin's fragment of the decree for Spartokos III from the floor of the Acropolis mosque, Lusieri extracted Elgin's fragment of [11](#) from the floor of the same Turkish house in which Chandler had seen it, though in this case it is uncertain whether the Acropolis was the inscription's original location.<sup>14</sup>

We cannot tell whether the decree prescript, [14](#), was from a decree erected on the Acropolis or the lower city, or where it was found.

It can fairly confidently be claimed that three decrees in this part of Elgin's collection were not set up on the Acropolis and are unlikely to have been found there. There is good circumstantial evidence that fragment *c* of [15](#), the early second-century BC decree honouring the Council prytany of Ptolemais, was acquired by Lusieri in the lower

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<sup>9</sup> Richard Pococke, who first edited Elgin's fragment in 1752, groups it with other inscriptions from Athens, but does not specify a findspot.

<sup>10</sup> For the definition of this group of fragments as including [IG I<sup>3</sup> 14](#), [15a](#) and [d](#), and possibly [16a](#) and [b](#), but excluding [IG I<sup>3</sup> 15b](#) and possibly [c](#) (both in any case found on the Acropolis), see Moroo 2014.

<sup>11</sup> [IG I<sup>3</sup> 14](#) was first recorded by L. F. S. Fauvel in the area of the Erechtheion in 1788 or 1789, [IG I<sup>3</sup> 15d](#) was discovered in the same area by K. S. Pittakis in 1832, cf. Malouchou 2014, 73-76 with n. 4.

<sup>12</sup> Malouchou 2014, 76 n. 4. See [AIO 1741](#). Cf. the commentary to [2](#).

<sup>13</sup> "In casa cuiusdam Turcae in pavimento infixum", Chandler 1774, xxii on his no. XI, cf. p. 50 no. XI, "in Acropoli".

<sup>14</sup> An (inconclusive) case can be made that it was put up next to the statue in the Agora which the decree gave the honorand permission to erect. See the discussion in [AIUK 2 \(BSA\)](#), no. 1, p. 12.



city. Not only was the fragment recorded by Dodwell in a house in the lower city at about the same time as Lusieri was active on Elgin's behalf,<sup>15</sup> but the other five fragments were also found in the Agora, and the inscription, as usual for prytany decrees at this period, was originally set up in the Agora in the *prytanikon* (= the area of the *tholos*) (l. 52).<sup>16</sup>

Fragment g, the main fragment of the early fifth-century regulations of the Eleusinian Mysteries, [1](#), was first noted by Chandler on his visit to Athens in 1765-6, "a huge marble block ... in the hall of the house of a Greek ... by the temple of Theseus [= Hephaisteion]".<sup>17</sup> No record of it exists between then and its inclusion among the marbles in Elgin's collection transferred to the BM in 1816, but there is no reason to suppose that it had been moved in the meantime, or to doubt that it stood originally in the City Eleusinion, which was not far from the house in which Chandler saw it, and in the area of which several of the smaller fragments of the inscription were discovered in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.<sup>18</sup>

A findspot in the same area of the lower city may also be surmised for Elgin's fragment of [17](#) (a), the third-century AD decree on the conveyance by the ephebes of sacred objects for the Eleusinian Mysteries. The inscription is either the copy of the decree set up in the City Eleusinion ("the Eleusinion under the (Acro)polis", as the text describes it, l. 41) or the one set up in the gymnasium of Diogenes or Diogeneion (the ephebic "headquarters" in the later Hellenistic and Roman periods, ll. 41-42).<sup>19</sup> Seven of the eight other surviving fragments were found in the lower city at the (now ruined) church of St. Demetrios Katephores (the findspot of the ninth fragment is not recorded).<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Dodwell 1819 (but in reference to his tour of Greece undertaken 1801, 1805 and 1806), 372 ("in a cottage not far from the same place", i.e. not far from a structure east of the "Theseion" taken by Dodwell to be the Ptolemaion, but now known to be the Stoa of Attalos). For a recent discussion of the "real" Ptolemaion, now perhaps to be located east of the tower of the winds, see Di Cesare 2014, 749-51.

<sup>16</sup> For "*prytanikon*" as most likely designating the vicinity of the rotunda in the Agora known also as the *tholos*, the "headquarters" of the Council prytany, see *Agora* XV p. 3; R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora. III Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia* (1957), p. 184. Not long after [15](#) was set up in its vicinity the *tholos* was refurbished, cf. [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 1300](#) with notes.

<sup>17</sup> "In atrio domus Graeci cuiusdam, templum Thesei versus, extat ingens tabula marmorea", Chandler 1774, xxv on his no. XXVI. This seems to be a different house from the one in the floor of which Chandler found (and purchased) the next item he published, the Skambonidai inscription, [AIUK 4.1, no. 3](#): "Marmor repertum in pavimento casae prope templum Thesei, pretio redemptum", Chandler 1774, xxv on no. XXVII.

<sup>18</sup> Chandler, who prefaced his brief discussion of this inscription with the words, "Now we descend from the Acropolis to the city" ("Ab arce in urbem nunc descendimus", 1774, xxiv), supposed that it belonged to the *axones* and *kyrbeis* of Solon, citing Plutarch's *Life of Solon* (25) as authority for the preservation of fragments of the *axones* to his time in the city hall (*prytaneion*). Small fragments found near City Eleusinion: see [1](#).

<sup>19</sup> On the (uncertain) location of the Diogeneion, see recently Di Cesare 2014, 752-53. See also next note. [IG II<sup>2</sup> 1079](#) is a fragment of the other Athenian copy, noted by Fourmont in a house in the lower city ("in domo Nicolai Ioannis"). There is no way of determining which copy is which. The church of Demetrios Katephores was probably close to the Diogeneion (next note), but it is also not far from the City Eleusinion. Cf. *Agora* XXXI p. 13, fig. 2 and p. 209, 78A and B.

<sup>20</sup> On the location of the Church of St. Demetrios Katephores at the junction of Kyrristou and Erechtheos streets and the findspot of vast numbers of inscriptions, see Di Cesare 2014, 745-49

Finally a word is needed about [10](#), ascribed here tentatively to the Elgin collection. A fourth-century relief from the top of a decree depicting the crowning of a man by Athena, it was not registered with the rest of the Elgin collection in 1816, eventually being included with a handful of other miscellaneous unregistered items in what seems to have been a tidying up of the Museum register in 1973. Two very similar, but uninscribed, Attic document reliefs precede it in Smith's 1892 catalogue of Greek and Roman sculpture in the BM, and the inclusion of these two reliefs in the *Description of the Collection of Ancient Marbles in the British Museum* IX (1842), as well as their 1816 accession numbers, confirms their origin in the Elgin collection.<sup>21</sup> It has therefore been suspected that **10** also belongs among Elgin's material.<sup>22</sup> It is plausible enough that **10** was set up on the Acropolis, though we cannot tell whether it was still there if and when it was acquired by Elgin.

From 1820 to 1825 one of Elgin's successors as ambassador to the Porte at Constantinople was Percy Clinton Smythe, sixth Viscount Strangford (1780-1855). He also in a sense followed in Elgin's footsteps as a collector. According to Michaelis, "among other purposes he utilized his residence in the East for founding a fine collection of antiquities",<sup>23</sup> and though these were of various types and provenances, among them were a number of Attic inscriptions, including two fragments of decrees of the Athenian Council and Assembly: fragment *e* of [3](#), the decree about Hestiaia of the period of the Athenian Empire, "brought from the Akropolis by Percy Clinton, Viscount Strangford";<sup>24</sup> and fragment *b* of [16](#), a post-Sullan decree honouring the ephebes. The latter fragment is recorded by Boeckh as having been found in Athens in 1816 in a private house not far from the church of St. Demetrios Katephores,<sup>25</sup> which was probably located not far from

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with figs. 412 and 413, who observes that this church was probably close to the location of the Ptolemaion, Diogeneion, and the mysterious Theseion. Not all the inscriptions found at this church, however, were necessarily set up originally in its immediate vicinity. Cf. [IG I<sup>3</sup> 82](#), with AIO's note. On this church see also Biris 1940, 26 (ph. p. 27), no. 37 (with map).

<sup>21</sup> In his Preface to the *Description* Edward Hawkins (the second keeper of the BM Antiquities Department, 1826-1860) states that the volume includes miscellaneous objects brought from Greece by Elgin.

<sup>22</sup> The two uninscribed reliefs are *Description*, 154-55, pl. 35, fig. 4 [depicting a crowning by Athena with another divinity standing by] = BM 1816,0610.375 = Smith 1892, 354-55, no. 771 = Lawton no. 124 (ph.); and *Description*, 157, pl. 36, fig. 1 = BM 1816,0610.371 = Smith 1892, 355 no. 772 = Lawton no. 131 (ph.) [also a crowning by Athena, a design which is in its main features a mirror image of **10**. This similarity might plausibly have resulted in confusion between the two]. For the suspicion that **10** is also from the Elgin collection see Lawton's notes, no. 137, p. 140.

<sup>23</sup> Michaelis 1882, 161-62.

<sup>24</sup> Hicks, *GIBM* I 4. Cf. Boeckh, *CIG* I Add. p. 893, 73 c: "olim Athenis in arce". The other fragments of this inscription were also mostly found on the Acropolis, which was doubtless the original location of the decree.

<sup>25</sup> "Athenis repperit Mertrud a. 1816 in domo Stamataki-Hadgi. Ed. Pouquevillius Itin. T. IV. p. 105", *CIG* I, 117. Georgia Malouchou, *Grammateion* 8, 2019, 61-66, at 64-65, reports, based on information from the archive of P. Eustratiades, that this house was located in ὁδὸς Ντέκα, "πρὸς δυσμὰς τῆς μητροπόλεως", i.e. near St. Demetrios Katephores, which was the findspot of the fragments of two other decrees honouring ephebes from the same period, [IG II<sup>2</sup> 1041](#) and [1043](#).

the ephebic headquarters, the Diogeneion, and the Ptolemaion (the ephebic library).<sup>26</sup> By the time Boeckh compiled the *CIG* Addenda (p. 901), however, it was in London, in Lord Strangford's "museum", where it was with some difficulty examined by one of Boeckh's correspondents, Brønsted.<sup>27</sup> Brønsted also examined there the Strangford fragment of 3, supplying thereby the basis for Boeckh's *editio princeps*.<sup>28</sup> Unlike 3, 16 is unlikely to have been set up on the Acropolis. Admittedly, as currently restored, the decree was to be set up in whatever location the *kosmetes* of ephebes wished (62-63), but decrees honouring ephebes were conventionally erected in the Agora,<sup>29</sup> and a location there is likely, perhaps in the area of the Diogeneion.<sup>30</sup> After Strangford's death the part of his collection comprising his "marbles", including the Attic inscriptions, was acquired by the BM, being accessioned in 1864.<sup>31</sup>

Much the most recent addition to the British Museum's collection of inscribed decrees of the Athenian Council and Assembly is fragment *b* of the fourth-century decree honouring Euagoras of Salamis, 7, which was acquired by the Museum at a Christie's sale on 9 December 1958 (lot 16) and accessioned in 1959.<sup>32</sup> It had formerly been in the collection of the Marquess of Sligo, at Westport House, County Mayo, Ireland, and had presumably been acquired by the Second Marquess, Howe Peter Browne, whom Lord Byron encountered in Athens in 1810.<sup>33</sup> It seems that Sligo obtained a firman to excavate that summer at a number of sites, including the Acropolis slopes (where he might plausibly have discovered our fragment; note that fragment *c* of the inscription was found on the south slope of the Acropolis) and another site 200 yards from the city walls on the road to Thebes.<sup>34</sup> A further Attic inscription deriving from this collection, a funerary monument, was acquired on the art market by the British Museum in 1982 (BM 1982.1214.1); it will be discussed, together with further details of Sligo's activities and

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<sup>26</sup> Cf. n. 20.

<sup>27</sup> "Titulum, qui nunc in Museo Strangfordiano est, sed etiam magis obscuratus, denuo contulit Brønstedius", *CIG* I Add. p. 901. It is unclear whether this "museum" is the same as the "cellar" in which, according to Michaelis 1882, 162 n. 436, the items of Strangford's collection acquired after his death by the British Museum were "long hidden ... when they were discovered by Mr Newton". Brønsted, Danish ambassador to the Holy See, is thanked by Boeckh, *CIG* I p. xi, for information about "inscriptiones Musei Strangfordiani", among others.

<sup>28</sup> "Olim Athenis in arce ... nunc in Museo Strangfordiano Londini. Misit a se ex lapide transcriptum Brønstedius", *CIG* I Add. p. 893, 73 c.

<sup>29</sup> See [AIO 1798](#) with notes.

<sup>30</sup> Consistently with this, fr. *d* was found "in the eastern part of Athens" (Pittakis, *Eph. Arch.* 1842 no. 855). In *Eph. Arch.* 1853 no. 1805 Pittakis records that fr. *a* was found on the Acropolis (east of the Propylaia) in 1834. One might interpret this as a relatively unusual case of a stone wandering up from the lower city to the Acropolis prior to discovery. It is difficult, however, to know what to make of Pittakis 1835, 302, where he edits the Strangford fragment among those he recorded on the Acropolis. The findspot of fr. *c* is unknown.

<sup>31</sup> Strangford "presented to Canterbury" another part of his collection ("chiefly terra cottas", Michaelis). More detail on the Strangford material and its acquisition by the BM will be given in the later parts of *AIUK* 4.

<sup>32</sup> Lewis and Stroud 1979, 181, q.v. for more detail.

<sup>33</sup> Marchand 1973, pp. 5 and 11. On the Second Marquess of Sligo see now Chambers 2017.

<sup>34</sup> Chambers 2017, 96.

*1. The Collection of Decrees of the Athenian Council and Assembly in the British Museum*

collection, in *AIUK* 4.6 (*BM, Funerary Monuments*). It seems that 7 was to be inscribed in relation to a statue (*agalma*), but it is not clear whether this refers to the statue of Zeus Soter in the Agora, or the statue of Athena Promachos on the Acropolis.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> See further the notes to [7](#).

## 2. THE DECREES OF THE COUNCIL AND ASSEMBLY IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM AND ATHENIAN HISTORY

### 1. Introduction

The selection of seventeen inscribed decrees, or fragments of decrees, of the Athenian Council and Assembly in the British Museum has been determined by accident of discovery and is too small a group to comprise a statistically representative sample for most purposes. In at least one respect, however, it is a fortunate selection, for the earliest, **1**, dates to before 450 BC and the latest, **17**, to after 200 AD, and of the other two thousand or so inscribed decrees of the Council and Assembly that are extant, very few pre-date the earliest in the BM and almost none post-date the latest. What these decrees give us, therefore, is a series of snap-shots of Athenian decree inscribing across practically the entire span of that activity, and in so doing they supply a rich series of insights into the collective preoccupations of Athenian citizens over time as they formulated key policy decisions of the city. In this part of the Introduction I shall seek to place the BM's seventeen inscribed decrees in the context of the other two thousand, and of Athenian history more broadly.

### 2. Council and Assembly

As commonly in Greek cities, Athens had both an Assembly (*ekklesia*) of all adult male citizens (of whom there were perhaps about 30,000 in the fourth century BC), often referred to in inscriptions as "The People" (*Demos*), and a Council (*Boule*) responsible for preparing the Assembly's business and overseeing the executive administration of the city. The "Council" in question is not the ancient Council of the Areopagos, comprised of former archons, which, until it acquired an enhanced role in policy-making in the first century BC, did not inscribe its decisions,<sup>36</sup> but the democratic Council established by Cleisthenes in 508 BC, which consisted of fifty representatives of each tribe, selected by lot for a term of one year, a fixed quota from each Attic community, or deme.<sup>37</sup> The deme quotas ensured that the Council was broadly representative of the citizen population as a whole, the polis in microcosm,<sup>38</sup> and a further democratic feature in the fifth and fourth

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<sup>36</sup> See the commentary on **17**. There is a fragment of one such inscribed decree of the Areopagos, dating to the late second century AD, in the British Museum's collection: SEG 59.136 = *Agora* XVI 339 + *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1118. It will be edited in *AIUK* 4.3.

<sup>37</sup> See further Rhodes 1972; Hansen 1991, 246-65; *IALD* II, 227-71. The size of the Council varied according to the number of tribes. In the Classical democracy of the ten tribes it had 500 members; in 307/6 BC its size increased to 600 with the addition of the Macedonian tribes, Antigonis and Demetrias; in 223/2 BC to 650 with the addition of a thirteenth tribe, Ptolemais; in 201/0 BC Antigonis and Demetrias were abolished and Attalis created, returning the number of tribes to twelve and the Council to 600. In the 120s AD the number of tribes increased once again to thirteen with the addition of Hadrianis, but at the same time the size of the Council was reduced nominally back to its Classical size of 500. Cf. Rhodes 1972, 1.

<sup>38</sup> μικρὰ πόλις, schol. Aeschin. 3.4, cf. Rhodes 1972, 4.

centuries BC was that tenure was limited to two periods of office on the Council in a lifetime, though this limit seems to have broken down in the third century.<sup>39</sup> A key principle of the Athenian constitution, and one of the features that, in the minds of contemporaries, made it democratic, was that all policy decisions were referred from the Council to the People.<sup>40</sup> It was equally a principle that the Assembly could not take such decisions other than on the basis of a proposal of the Council, a *probouleuma* or *gnomē*.<sup>41</sup> *Probouleumata* could be “open”, i.e. in effect simply placing a matter on the Assembly’s agenda, or “closed”, formulating a specific proposal. The Assembly in turn could approve the Council’s proposal (termed by modern scholars a “probouleumatic decree”), or it could amend it either by reworking it (a “non-probouleumatic decree”) or by accepting it but supplementing it (a “rider”). There were also occasionally “riders” to non-probouleumatic decrees.<sup>42</sup> In the fifth century BC the language of the inscribed decree does not usually enable us to determine whether it was probouleumatic or non-probouleumatic, but from the fourth century onwards the decrees are often formulated in ways which enable us to do so, thus e.g. “The People decided” (*edoxen toi demoī*) normally introduces a non-probouleumatic decree, “The Council and People decided” (*edoxen tei boulei kai toi demoī*) a probouleumatic decree, while probouleumatic decrees may also contain the “probouleumatic formula”, a clause which describes in terms that the proposal set out in the decree is to go forward from the Council to the Assembly.<sup>43</sup> Broadly speaking, in the fourth century non-probouleumatic decrees predominated,<sup>44</sup> but the balance shifted markedly towards probouleumatic decrees thereafter.<sup>45</sup> This is one of a number of indications that, in the Hellenistic period, the Assembly became increasingly a rubber-stamping body.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Twice in a lifetime: *Ath. Pol.* 62.3; breakdown in the third century: *IALD* II, 261-62, cf. commentary to [15](#). Councillors also received a subsistence allowance in the Classical period (5 obols per meeting/day in the time of *Ath. Pol.*, 62.2), another significant democratic feature. It is not clear whether this continued in the Hellenistic period, *IALD* II, 260-61.

<sup>40</sup> According to Otanes in the debate on the constitutions dramatised as taking place in Persia in 522 BC by Herodotos (3.80), this was one of three cornerstones of democracy (called there “rule of the mass”): “all proposals are referred to the collective” (βουλευματα δὲ πάντα ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἀναφέρει). See in more detail the commentary to [15](#). In some circumstances decrees of the Council alone were inscribed, but (at least before Sulla, see [16](#), [17](#), with commentaries) such decrees never seem to have breached this important constitutional principle, cf. Rhodes 1972, 82-87; *IALD* II, 231-34; [8](#) with commentary.

<sup>41</sup> The οὐδὲν ἀπροβούλευτον rule, *Ath. Pol.* 45.4, Rhodes 1972, 52. See also [17](#) with commentary.

<sup>42</sup> On these distinctions see especially Rhodes 1972, 52-81; also more recently *IALD* II, 227-71. They are discussed in greater detail in the commentaries to [7](#), [8](#), [9](#), [12](#), [14](#), [15](#), [16](#), [17](#).

<sup>43</sup> For the situation in the fifth century see Rhodes 1972, 64, 66; *IALD* II, 257 n. 69. For an example of the probouleumatic formula see [9](#), ll. 3-8. On the transition to it see [8](#) with commentary.

<sup>44</sup> I have recently shown that this was much more markedly the case in the last generation or so of the Classical democracy than had previously been recognised. See *IALD* II, 227-57. Statistics summarised below, on [15](#) (n. [373](#)).

<sup>45</sup> Statistics summarised below, n. [373](#).

<sup>46</sup> For recent discussion of this development see *IALD* II, 257-68, where I noted that it is also apparent e.g. the complete absence, in the later period, of “riders” to decrees, resulting from debate



### 3. Prescripts of inscribed decrees: persons referred to

Other information relevant to the dating of a decree and persons connected with it was contained in the decree's prescript, which broadly speaking tended to become increasingly detailed over time. By the time of the earliest decrees in our set with preserved prescripts, [4](#), [5](#), and [6](#), from the second half of the fifth century, the personal information given in the prescript typically included:

(a) the prytany under which the decree was passed. The prytanies were the tribal contingents of the Council, which functioned as the Council's executive committee in rotation through the year, in a random order that varied from year to year;<sup>47</sup>

(b) the secretary of the Council (*grammateus tes boules*), sometimes later (from the 350s) known as the prytany secretary (*grammateus kata prytaneian*),<sup>48</sup> who in the fifth century held office for a prytany, but from some time between 365/3 and 363/2 BC became an annual official and from at least 356/5 BC was usually chosen from a different tribe in succession in an official order;<sup>49</sup>

(c) the "chairman" (*epistates*). In fifth century decrees this refers to the chairman of the prytany, but by ca. 378 BC the task of presiding over the business of the Assembly had been removed from the prytany and allocated to a board of *proedroi* ("presiding committee") consisting of nine members (in the period of ten tribes), one from each of the

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in the Assembly, and of decrees resulting from *probouleumata* commissioned by the Assembly. I also suggested there that the shift in the proportion of probouleumatic decrees is a "real" phenomenon, not simply a result of shifts in the epigraphical habit (cf. n. [373](#)); and I argued that [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 1137](#) illustrates nicely the relative weakness of the Assembly in the later period. In this inscription (on which the first two decrees are non-probouleumatic), in a manner that would have been unthinkable in the Classical democracy, it is apparent that a decision of the Assembly has not been put into effect and the Assembly defers explicitly to the opinion of an individual political leader. Cf. the commentaries to [12](#), [13](#), [15](#).

<sup>47</sup> For fuller discussion of the role of the prytany, see the commentary to [15](#).

<sup>48</sup> First perhaps at [RO 48](#), l. 2, of 357/6 BC.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Henry 2002. The official order in the period of ten tribes was: Erechtheis<sup>I</sup>, Aigeis<sup>II</sup>, Pandionis<sup>III</sup>, Leontis<sup>IV</sup>, Akamantis<sup>V</sup>, Oineis<sup>VI</sup>, Kekropis<sup>VII</sup>, Hippothontis<sup>VIII</sup>, Aiantis<sup>IX</sup>, Antiochis<sup>X</sup>. Between 307/6 and 223/2 BC: Antigonis<sup>I</sup>, Demetrias<sup>II</sup>, with the others put back two places in the order. 223/2-201/0 BC: Ptolemais was placed VII, and the others put back a further place in the order, so Akamantis<sup>VIII</sup>, Oineis<sup>IX</sup>, Kekropis<sup>X</sup>, Hippothontis<sup>XI</sup>, Aiantis<sup>XII</sup>, Antiochis<sup>XIII</sup>. From 201/0 BC to the 120s AD: Antigonis and Demetrias abolished, Attalis added at the end, so the full sequence became: Erechtheis<sup>I</sup>, Aigeis<sup>II</sup>, Pandionis<sup>III</sup>, Leontis<sup>IV</sup>, Ptolemais<sup>V</sup>, Akamantis<sup>VI</sup>, Oineis<sup>VII</sup>, Kekropis<sup>VIII</sup>, Hippothontis<sup>IX</sup>, Aiantis<sup>X</sup>, Antiochis<sup>XI</sup>, Attalis<sup>XII</sup>. In the 120s AD Hadrianis was inserted as tribe VII. On the arrangement of the demes into tribes at different periods see the checklist at Traill 1975, 109-12. In this and other contexts where it is relevant (e.g. in relation to c below) it is conventional in printed texts of prescripts to indicate the place of the tribe in the official order by printing its number in Roman numerals after the tribe name or the demotic of an official (where it indicates the tribe to which the deme belonged). For an example of the secretary cycle in operation see [14](#) with commentary.



tribes except that in prytany. From this time onwards it is their chairman who was named in decree prescripts, and from 333/2 BC the whole committee is sometimes listed;<sup>50</sup>

(d) the eponymous archon. Though occasionally mentioned earlier, the archon is not normally named in prescripts until 421/0 BC, which typically makes inscriptions from before this difficult to date precisely;<sup>51</sup>

(e) last but not least, the proposer of the motion, referred to by name only (and therefore usually unidentifiable) until 354/3 BC, and thereafter including father's name and demotic, and thereby often identifiable.<sup>52</sup>

In the fifth century prescripts were formulated paratactically ("old style"): w was prytany, x was secretary, y was archon, z was chairman. In the fourth century this gradually gave way to a more continuous, prosaic, "new style" formulation: "In the archonship of x, in the nth prytany, of y, for which z was secretary" etc.<sup>53</sup>

In addition to the prescript proper the decree might also carry a heading, sometimes in larger letters. These were also invariably personal and usually named the honorand, as in [7](#), the archon (no example in the BM's collection) or, an earlier practice, the secretary (e.g. [8](#)). Among other things this enabled the viewer to gather key information about an inscription at a glance, a function also performed by the visual signals conveyed by any relief sculpture at the head of the decree (see [7](#), [10](#), and below n. [81](#)). A similar function was performed by the placement, usually at the bottom of the inscription, of an inscribed or painted crown, including the name of the honorand (no example in this set) and/or of the awarding body (e.g. [12](#)), or sometimes citations with no crown (e.g. [15](#)).<sup>54</sup>

#### 4. Prescripts of inscribed decrees: dating

In the fourth century BC decree prescripts began to include increasing amounts of information about the occasion in the year that the decree was passed. From ca. 340 BC this sometimes included the type of meeting the decree was passed at; thus [12](#) is headed

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<sup>50</sup> Cf. *Ath. Pol.* 44.2. Whole committee: see [13](#) and [14](#), with commentary, where the rationale for the fuller listing is also discussed. As random members of the Council, *proedroi* are not usually well-known individuals, cf. [14](#) with commentary.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. [IG I<sup>3</sup> 82](#) with AIO's notes. The prescript of [4](#) is an unusual earlier case, naming the archon of 433/2 BC. On archons see also below [sect. 2.4](#).

<sup>52</sup> On proposers see most recently *IALD* II, 171-226 (change in 354/3 BC, 174). For probouleumatic decrees the proposer in the Assembly is the same as the one who proposed the decree in the Council. See e.g. [7](#) with commentary.

<sup>53</sup> For detailed analysis of the development of prescript styles, though on some specifics a little outdated, see Henry 1977. For the "old style" see [4](#) (but including reference to the archon in "new style"), [5](#), [6](#), [7](#), [8](#) (cf. commentary thereto). New style: [12](#), [13](#), [14](#), [15](#), [17](#) reverts to the old style.

<sup>54</sup> Since painted crowns never or almost never survive, it is often difficult to be certain whether citations were enclosed in such a crown.

“Assembly” (*ekklesia*), **13** and **14** “Principal Assembly” (*ekklesia kyria*),<sup>55</sup> **15** “Council in the Panathenaic stadium” (*boule en toi Panathenaiikoi stadioi*).<sup>56</sup>

To understand other aspects of dating, a summary of the Athenian calendar may be helpful. The Athenian year began, notionally or actually, at the first new moon after the summer solstice and was named for the “eponymous” archon. The names of all these archons, and their years of office, are known, from after the Persian wars through to the end of the fourth century. After that our knowledge is patchier.<sup>57</sup> For dating within a year two systems were in operation. The “archon’s calendar”, otherwise known as the festival or lunar calendar, consisted of 12 months of 30 days (full) or 29 days (hollow). Whether there were 29 days or 30 days in a particular month is usually unknown, and which day was omitted in a hollow month is also uncertain.<sup>58</sup> The months were, in order: Hekatombaion, Metageitnion, Boedromion, Pyanopsion, Maimakterion, Posideon, Gamelion, Anthesterion, Elaphebolion, Mounichion, Thargelion, Skirophorion. The month started with νουμηνία, “the new moon (day)”, and the days of the first decade were said to be of the “waxing” moon, so “on 3<sup>rd</sup> Boedromion” is Βοηδρομιῶνος τρίτη ἰσταμένου. 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> are straightforwardly ἑνδεκάτη and δωδεκάτη. For 13<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> numbers “over ten” are used, so 18<sup>th</sup> is ὀγδόει ἐπὶ δέκα. 20<sup>th</sup> was δεκάτη προτέραι, the “earlier tenth”, i.e. from the end of the month, and 21<sup>st</sup> δεκάτη ὑστέραι, the “later tenth”.<sup>59</sup> The days continue to be counted backwards through the twenties and are designated either “of the waning” moon, so 23<sup>rd</sup> = ὀγδὸν φθίνοντος, or “after the twentieth”, 23<sup>rd</sup> = ὀγδὸν μετ’ εἰκάδας.<sup>60</sup> The last day of the month was conceived of as transitional, “of the old [literally “previous”] and new”, ἔννι καὶ νέαι. Meetings of the Assembly on (at least major) festival days were generally avoided.<sup>61</sup>

An intercalary month was inserted from time to time to ensure, over the long term, correspondence between the lunar year and a solar year. In 433/2 BC the Athenian astronomer Meton announced the discovery of a system, “the Metonic cycle”, according to which this correspondence could be achieved by means of a 19-year cycle in which the intercalary years were the 2nd, 5th, 8th, 10th, 13th, 16th and 18th of the cycle. There is

<sup>55</sup> In the fourth century there were normally three ordinary Assemblies and one principal Assembly per prytany (*Ath. Pol.* 43.4-6). See the commentary on **13** (cf. also **14** and **15**) for discussion of the situation in the Hellenistic period.

<sup>56</sup> On the rationale underlying the introduction of these designations see *IALD* II, 241-43.

<sup>57</sup> Archons and other officials of 684-321 BC were listed by Develin 1989. For the archons of 347/6-48/7 BC see Meritt 1977, updated for 352/1-322/1 BC by *IG* II<sup>3</sup> 1, fasc. 2 pp. 239-40 (which makes no change to dates of archons), for 300/299-230/29 BC by *IG* II<sup>3</sup> 1, fasc. 4 pp. 296-99, for 229/8-168/7 BC by *IG* II<sup>3</sup> 1, fasc. 5 pp. 290-92. On the chronology and archon list of Roman Athens to AD 267/8, see Byrne 2003, 501-10.

<sup>58</sup> In recent years a degree of consensus has developed in favour of the omitted day being δευτέρα φθίνοντος (“second of the waning month”, i.e. the penultimate day), but see Lambert 2010b, 100-1; **2014b**, 3 n. 5.

<sup>59</sup> These different “tenths” from the end of the month may, or may originally, have had to do with whether a month was hollow or full, but this is obscure.

<sup>60</sup> It used to be thought that μετ’ εἰκάδας represented a forward count, e.g. ὀγδὸν μετ’ εἰκάδας = 28th, but it is now generally accepted that days μετ’ εἰκάδας were also counted backwards (cf. Mikalson 1975, 9-10).

<sup>61</sup> Mikalson 1975.

not enough evidence to confirm whether this cycle was in operation in the late fifth and early fourth centuries, but from at least ca. 350 BC onwards it seems to have been generally applied.<sup>62</sup> Individual days were also quite commonly inserted into or subtracted from the lunar calendar, for reasons that are usually obscure to us, and in the Hellenistic period at least decrees are sometimes dated to such intercalary days (none in this collection).

In the late fifth century, the earliest time for which we have evidence, the Council's year, divided, as we have seen, into prytanies, was a "solar" year of 365 or 366 days,<sup>63</sup> but later, perhaps from the restoration of the democracy in 403 BC, the Council used the "lunar", archon's year.<sup>64</sup> According to *Ath. Pol.* 43.2 the first four prytanies of a year had 36 days, the remaining six 35 days, which implies a year of 12 lunar months = 354 days. This was perhaps the normal rule under the fourth-century democracy,<sup>65</sup> though different arrangements must have been made to accommodate the longer, solar, year in the fifth-century democracy, and intercalary years in the fourth century, when inscriptions suggest that prytanies were extended to 39 (first four) or 38 days. In subsequent epochs the length of a prytany varied in proportion to the number of tribes.

## 5. Other indicators of the date of decrees

It may also be helpful to review here some other key technical indicators of date which the reader will encounter in this volume. Most of the decrees in this set were inscribed on stelai (upright slabs taller than they were wide and wider than they were thick). In the fifth century BC the stelai were sometimes inscribed on both sides (as [3](#)); later they were usually inscribed on one side only. The stele, however, only emerged as the standard format for decree inscriptions ca. 450 BC. [1](#) is inscribed in an earlier format, the pillar or post, typically inscribed on all four sides.<sup>66</sup>

Until 404/3 BC the Attic alphabet was in official use, in which  $\Lambda$  = gamma,  $\text{L}$  = lambda, H = aspirate,  $\Phi\Sigma$  = psi,  $\text{X}\Sigma$  = xi, and there was no eta or omega. The Ionic alphabet began to appear sporadically, even in official texts, in the later fifth century, and after 403/2 BC Attic survivals are very rare.<sup>67</sup> By around the second half of the fifth century BC most letters have acquired their later standard forms, and can be described as "developed Attic lettering". Non-standard forms, such as theta =  $\oplus$  (rather than the later

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<sup>62</sup> Lambert 2010b, 92-99; [2014a](#), 23. On the cycle in the Roman period see Byrne 2003, 501-10. For a problem with the cycle in the early second century BC see the commentary to [15](#).

<sup>63</sup> This is established by [IG I<sup>3</sup> 369](#) = OR 160.

<sup>64</sup> Perhaps from the restoration of democracy in 403 BC: Morgan ap. [Lambert 2014b](#), 2-3; [Lambert and Morgan 2016](#).

<sup>65</sup> Lambert 2010b, 99-100.

<sup>66</sup> See further the commentary on [1](#). For other examples see [AIUK 4.1 \(BM, Cult Provisions\)](#), no. 2 and no. 3. Some inscriptions of later periods were considerably wider than the normal stele. Sometimes referred to as "tabulae", or "plaques", if fragmentary, as they often are, the precise physical configuration of the monument may be unclear.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. Threatte I, 19-51, II, 679-85; *LSAG*, 66-78; Matthaiou 2009; Tracy 2016, 39. For occasional archaising use of the Attic alphabet in the Roman period cf. the commentary to [17](#).

form ☉), phi = ⊕, mu with short right diagonal, markedly forward-leaning nu, and epsilon with markedly sloping horizontals, are characteristic of the period before ca. 450 BC. These “earlier” forms include the three-barred sigma, Ϛ, and tailed rho, Ϟ, which until recently many scholars thought did not appear at all after about 450 BC, though this has now been shown to be incorrect.<sup>68</sup> Apart from the change in alphabet, as our collection demonstrates, the basic letter shapes remained essentially unchanged from the late fifth century (the “developed Attic lettering” of [4](#), [5](#) and [6](#)) to the early second century ([15](#)), though there was a tendency for lettering to become smaller and more akin to handwriting from the mid-fourth century onwards, and by the mid-third century the outer strokes of mu and sigma can be rather more parallel than splayed.<sup>69</sup> Similarly the right vertical of pi tends to lengthen.<sup>70</sup> In the late Hellenistic period, as exemplified by [16](#) of ca. 40 BC, lettering tends again to become a little larger, with thicker letter strokes and definite emphasising of the apices and/or serifs, giving it a more four-square and monumental appearance. [17](#), of ca. 220 AD, also exemplifies this tendency. It shows slight influence of later developments, including the more rounded, “cursive”, style,<sup>71</sup> but is generally speaking quite conservative for its time. For fuller discussion of its lettering see the commentary on [17](#).

Layout also changes over time, with the stoichedon style (letters arranged in vertical columns) standard in official texts of the Classical period, but gradually dying out in the late fourth and third centuries.<sup>72</sup> Conventions in orthography and grammar also changed and can be useful chronological indicators.<sup>73</sup> The most important recent development in the dating of Attic inscriptions is S. V. Tracy’s work on the hands of individual cutters. Set out in four volumes spanning the fifth (and early fourth) century

<sup>68</sup> On this see especially Tracy 2014; Tracy 2016. *IG I<sup>3</sup>* reflects the old doctrine and many inscriptions in it are accordingly dated too high. For forms especially characteristic of the period before ca. 450 BC see Tracy 2016, 217. For markedly forward-leaning nu see [AIUK 4.1](#), p. 24. It is a feature of all three inscriptions in that part and is not a feature of any cutter working significantly later than 450 BC identified by Tracy.

<sup>69</sup> [14](#), of 255/4 BC, tends in this direction. The tendency towards “non-splayed” sigmas and mus is not, however, a uniform development. It is not found in [13](#), of 259/8 BC, while in [15](#), of 192/1 BC (?), the outer strokes of these letters are still slightly splayed. [16](#) of ca. 40 BC has sigmas with parallel outer strokes, but the outer strokes of mu are still splayed. In this set only [17](#), of ca. 220 AD, has parallel outer strokes in both mu and sigma.

<sup>70</sup> However, it is still generally shorter than the left vertical in [16](#), of ca. 40 BC, and generally very slightly shorter in [17](#), of ca. 220 AD. For more general guidance on dating Hellenistic inscriptions by letter-style see Tracy 1990, 238-39.

<sup>71</sup> It also has the later form of theta with a central horizontal rather than a central dot.

<sup>72</sup> Austin 1938, Threatte I, 52-72. Like the Attic alphabet it is occasionally revived later, but in decrees of the Council and Assembly not later than the Augustan period, cf. commentary to [17](#).

<sup>73</sup> Threatte I and II are a mine of information on such matters. Perhaps the most commonly adduced diagnostic shift in this area is from -ο- to -ου- in words such as βουλή (older form, βολή) and in the genitive singular and accusative plurals, e.g. τοῦ (older form, τῷ), τοὺς (older form, τός). The spelling with -ο- gradually gives way to -ου- as the fourth century progresses, is rare after ca. 350 BC and dies out altogether in state decrees by ca. 325 BC (Threatte I, 256-59, with Add. and Corr. II, 721-22). Threatte I also includes detailed analysis of the use of interpuncts in different types of text over time: 73-84 (pre-Roman), 85-94 (Roman).

and the years 340 to 86 BC Tracy's meticulous studies have enabled large numbers of Attic inscriptions to be dated for the first time to within a generation.<sup>74</sup>

## 6. Three drivers of the Athenian habit of inscribing decrees on stone

The factors that contributed to the Athenian habit of inscribing some of the city's decisions on stone are complex,<sup>75</sup> but, at the risk of oversimplifying, it may help clarify the context of the inscriptions in this collection to articulate three of them. Two are present at the beginnings of the habit; the third is present from shortly thereafter, but undergoes an important transformation in the fourth century.

The first is religion.<sup>76</sup> As we saw above ([sect. 1](#)), the Acropolis was the default location for inscribed Athenian decrees from the mid-fifth century BC through to the third century AD, and there is no doubt that the character of the Acropolis as religious heart of the city, principal dwelling place of the city's patron gods, especially Athena, was a key determinant of that location.<sup>77</sup> The earliest inscriptions to be set up there were dedications to the gods;<sup>78</sup> decree stelai could to a certain extent themselves be articulated as dedications;<sup>79</sup> and insofar as the handful of decrees that were inscribed on stone in the half-century before ca. 450 BC were not erected on the Acropolis, they were placed in religious sanctuaries and had religious content.<sup>80</sup> Religious logic was crucial in determining the selection of decrees to be inscribed in the case of all three major categories of inscribed decree in the fourth century: honorific decrees, treaties (and other foreign policy decrees) and religious regulations.<sup>81</sup> Inscribed decrees were part of the city's commerce with the gods. It is this religious factor that is to the fore in driving the inscription of both the earliest decree in the BM's collection, [1](#), and the latest, [17](#), both, as it happens, relating to the Eleusinian Mysteries, and not therefore erected on the Acropolis but at suitable locations in the lower city;<sup>82</sup> and it also drives the inscription (at an

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<sup>74</sup> Tracy 1990, 1995, 2003 and 2016. Identifying the cutter also has the effect of narrowing the pool of fragments which can be joined or associated as belonging to the same inscription. Tracy's method has facilitated innumerable new joins and not a few disjoins of fragments incorrectly associated by earlier scholars.

<sup>75</sup> Not all the decisions of the Council and Assembly were inscribed. On this see *IALD* II, 47-68.

<sup>76</sup> For what follows see *IALD* II, 19-46.

<sup>77</sup> *IALD* II, 22-27; Meyer 2013, 457-63; Moroo 2016.

<sup>78</sup> *IALD* II, 23-24. Cf. Moroo 2016, 34.

<sup>79</sup> *IALD* II, 22-23.

<sup>80</sup> *IALD* II, 24. See [IG I<sup>3</sup> 1-8](#), with AIO's notes. The religiosity inherent in these and other early inscriptions dealing with such matters commonly seems to have been directed at guaranteeing financial propriety and accountability of officials. See e.g. [1](#) with commentary; [AIUK 4.1, no. 3](#) with commentary.

<sup>81</sup> *IALD* II, 23-26. The religious context is also reflected in the common heading of inscribed decrees, "Gods" (*theoi*), on which see [4](#) with commentary, and until the end of the fourth century, in the placement of relief sculpture with religious themes at the head of the decree, on which see [10](#) with commentary (also [7](#)).

<sup>82</sup> The City Eleusinion in the case of [1](#), the City Eleusinion or the Diogeneion (because of its relevance to the ephebes) in the case of [17](#).



unknown location) of [6](#), about the construction of a temple.

If religion was present at, and indeed before, the birth of the practice of inscribing decrees of the Athenian Council and People, there can be no doubt that the assertion and projection of the city's power was instrumental in giving it momentum in the second half of the fifth century BC. Again, we only have to look at what else was happening on the Acropolis at this time to understand this, for the blossoming of the Athenian habit of inscribing decrees there coincides with the glorification of the city represented by the Periclean building programme. More specifically, it is unlikely to be coincidental that the earliest decrees relating to the Athenian Empire follow in the wake of the transfer of the treasury of the Athenian League from Delos to the Acropolis of Athens in 454 BC, and of the erection on the Acropolis of the first of the Athenian Tribute Lists, most massive of all Athenian inscriptions, and most symbolic of Athenian imperial confidence and ambition.<sup>83</sup> It is above all this spirit of "imperial projection" that underlies [2](#), [3](#), [4](#) and [5](#), all of which relate directly to the Athenian Empire.<sup>84</sup>

Along with the habit of inscribing "imperial" decrees after ca. 450 BC went the beginnings of the habit of inscribing a related category of decree which was to become much the most numerous across the span of Athenian decree-inscribing, and is also the best represented in the British Museum's collection, that awarding honours. The logic of the practice of inscribing honours is complex and encompasses among other things facets of the first two drivers identified above: inscribing an honorific decree, typically on the Acropolis or a sanctuary elsewhere, endowed the honour with religious sanction;<sup>85</sup> and for the first century or so inscribed honorific decrees were directed primarily at foreign benefactors and projected a message about the reach of Athens' international political networks consonant with the message projected by decrees connected with the Athenian Empire. There are no honorific decrees from the period of the Athenian Empire in the BM's collection, but the honorific impulse (by this time we may describe it as a habit) continued strongly as Athens recovered in the decade following her defeat in the Peloponnesian War, the decade to which [7](#) and [8](#) both belong.

After the accession of Philip II in 359 BC Athens' power in the Greek world was steadily eroded as that of Macedon increased, culminating in Athens' defeat at the battle of Chaironeia in 338 BC. This formed the background to three interconnected developments in Athenian honorific decrees which can be dated to the 340s BC: display of *philotimia* ("honour-loving behaviour") towards the city is explicitly praised for the first time; "hortatory intention" clauses begin to be included, stating that the honour is awarded to encourage not only the honorand to continue behaving towards the city in an honour-loving way, but others to behave similarly in the expectation that they too will be honoured; and the practice begins of regularly honouring Athenian officials and others

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<sup>83</sup> *IALD* II, 29; Trampedach forthcoming. For the first of the Athenian Tribute Lists see [IG I<sup>3</sup> 259](#) with AIO's notes.

<sup>84</sup> As is apparent already in [1](#), this projection of power also had an interior focus (see commentary thereto); i.e. it was also about asserting the sovereignty of the Athenian People, and its control over the city's officials.

<sup>85</sup> *IALD* II, 24-25.

performing a public function in the city by inscribed decrees.<sup>86</sup> In short, this period witnessed a conscious and deliberate instrumentalisation of the inscribed honorific decree as a kind of lever that the city could pull to maximise the extent to which both foreigners and Athenians acted in the city's collective interest. It is not perhaps surprising that this development took place at a time when Athens' military and political power were fading and when the number of other options open to the city to exercise influence were diminishing. This logic was maintained through the Hellenistic period, as Athens sought, by means of the honorific decree, to maximise its international influence in the multi-polar world of the successor kingdoms on the one hand; and, on the other, to offer recognition and incentives for public service and benefaction by its own citizens in a polity where, not least in relation to public finances, such service and benefaction was dependent to a greater extent than in the Classical democracy on voluntary engagement by wealthy individuals rather than obligations imposed by the collective. These dynamics helped propel the honorific decree from being one among several types of decree that were commonly inscribed in the late fifth century to being the only type of decree that was normally inscribed at public initiative and expense in the period following the "liberation" of Athens from the Macedonians in 229 BC.<sup>87</sup> The prevalence of the honorific decree in the later periods of the British Museum's collection – all but one of the decrees post-dating 400 BC are honorific – is not therefore unrepresentative of the corpus of inscribed Athenian decrees as a whole.

## 7. The content of the Athenian decrees in the British Museum and Athens' developing policy agenda

Characteristically of the small number of inscribed Athenian decrees that pre-date 450 BC,<sup>88</sup> the earliest in the BM's collection, [1](#), demonstrates the city's concern for the propriety of its relations with the gods. Its subject matter is also characteristic of the importance, to both Athenians and non-Athenians, of the Eleusinian Mysteries in the vast plethora of Athenian festivals.

The next four decrees in the collection are in various ways representative of the products of the earliest phase of decree inscribing on the Acropolis after the transfer of the treasury of the Delian League to Athens in 454 BC. The League had begun in the aftermath of the defeat of the second Persian invasion of Greece in 478 BC as an Athenian-led alliance system centered on the Aegean; but aside from some early public funerary monuments commemorating those who had fallen in battle away from home,<sup>89</sup> there are no Attic inscriptions directly relevant to its history until after 454 BC.<sup>90</sup> The first

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<sup>86</sup> For these three related developments see *IALD* II, 5-6, and 71-92 (= Lambert 2011).

<sup>87</sup> For statistics see *IALD* II, 24 n. 23.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. [IG I<sup>3</sup> 1-8](#) with AIO's notes. Of these only [IG I<sup>3</sup> 1](#) lacks a strongly religious purpose.

<sup>89</sup> See [OR 109](#) with AIO's notes; [OR 111](#). One of the fragments of the latter is in the British Museum and will be edited in *AIUK* 4.6 (*BM, Funerary Monuments*).

<sup>90</sup> [IG I<sup>3</sup> 9](#), on dealings with the Delphian Amphictyony, and [IG I<sup>3</sup> 10](#), on relations with Phaselis, can both be comfortably dated after 454 BC.



three of the four nicely represent the east-west geographical range of Athens' interests in this period, with [2](#) relating to Erythrai on the coast of Asia Minor opposite Chios, [3](#) to Hestiaia on Euboea (both decrees document imperial interventions by Athens) and [4](#) to Rhegion in southern Italy, outside League territory, but not outside Athens' zone of activity and influence. [5](#), "Kleinias' decree", is one of three extant inscribed decrees relating to the tightening up of tribute collection across the League in response to the financial pressures created by the Peloponnesian War, the conflict between the alliance systems of Athens and Sparta which ran from 431 to 404 BC.<sup>91</sup>

These four decrees are also characteristic of this period in that their dates cannot be pinned down with certainty. As will be clear from the commentaries, Harold Mattingly took the lead in campaigning for lower datings of many decrees of this period, and now that it has been established that three-bar sigmas occur in inscriptions that date significantly later than ca. 450 BC it has become inviting to follow him. That an inscription with three-bar sigmas might date later than previously thought, however, does not demonstrate that it does so and in this edition I favour on other grounds the conventional, earlier, dates, tentatively in the case of [2](#) (shortly after 454 BC?), and more firmly in the case of [3](#) (446 BC). I also take [4](#) to be a decree of, probably, the 440s, its prescript replaced on the renewal of the alliance in 433/2 BC, not, as Mattingly suggested, a later renewal of an alliance first made in 433/2 BC. In the case of [5](#), however, I follow the widespread view, established first by Mattingly, that it does not belong in the 440s or 430s, as had been suggested, but is the last in a series of three decrees of the mid-420s relating to the tribute. Little can be said about the date of the very fragmentary [6](#), relating to the building of an unidentifiable temple, beyond that it belongs in the second half of the fifth century BC.

[7](#) for Euagoras of Salamis and [8](#) for a man from Argos are the earliest honorific decrees in the BM's collection, both belonging to the early years of the fourth century, the years of Athens' recovery from defeat in the Peloponnesian War in 404 BC. [7](#) honours a crucial player in the important defeat of the Spartans at the battle of Knidos in 394/3 BC, which marked the end of Sparta's brief period of naval dominance in the Aegean following her victory in the Peloponnesian War. Although very fragmentary, it is the earliest inscribed example of an award at Athens of the "highest honours" (including a statue, though that part of the decree is not preserved). [8](#) is even more fragmentary, but we can tell that it honoured a man from Argos, and it may not be coincidental that in these years Argos was another of Athens' allies against Sparta in the Corinthian War.<sup>92</sup>

[9](#) (ca. 368-339 BC) and [10](#) (ca. 350-325 BC) are also most likely from decrees honouring foreigners, perhaps a seer in the case of [9](#), but both are too fragmentary to enable us to pin down the specific context. [10](#) preserves the relief from the top of a decree depicting Athena crowning an honorand (see the commentary thereto for brief discussion

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<sup>91</sup> The treaty between Athens and Halieis, of 424/3 BC (?), a fragment of which is in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, also belongs in a Peloponnesian War context; see [AIUK 3, no. 1](#).

<sup>92</sup> The important decree honouring King Straton of Sidon in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, [RO 21](#), now seems to date to the period of the Peace of Antalkidas, or "King's Peace", which put an end to this conflict in 386 BC. It will be edited in *AIUK 11 (Ashmolean)*.

of this type of relief).<sup>93</sup> In 322 BC Athens was defeated in the Lamian War, the rebellion against Macedon which followed the death of Alexander the Great, and the democracy was dissolved and replaced by an oligarchy. This ushered in a lengthy span of time during which Athens was obliged to accommodate herself to a world dominated politically and militarily by the successors of Alexander the Great. At some periods she was freer of direct control than others; and her internal constitutional arrangements were still at times more or less “democratic”, at least in form. Though Athenians did not immediately recognise the fact, however, in effect defeat in the Lamian War marked the end of Athens’ freedom to act as a fully independent player on the international stage. From 317 to 307 BC the city was controlled in the interests of the Macedonian Kassandros by Demetrios of Phaleron, and the only extant substantially preserved inscribed decree from these years is that honouring one of Athens’ (and Kassandros’) allies, Asandros of Macedon, [11](#). As it happens the other preserved fragment of this important decree (among other things the earliest extant Assembly decree containing a preserved clause providing for a statue) is in the British School at Athens, and I discussed it in detail in [AIUK 2](#) (no. 1).

On the fall of Demetrios of Phaleron in 307 BC “democracy” was restored in name, but this Demetrios was in effect replaced as Athens’ ultimate “controller” by another Macedonian dynast, another Demetrios, Poliorketes (“the Besieger”) the son of Antigonos Monophthalmos (“the One-Eyed”).<sup>94</sup> On and off this Demetrios dominated Athens until his expulsion in 288/7 BC. It was in the aftermath of this “recovery of the city” (ll. 21-22) in 285/4 BC that [12](#) honoured Spartokos III of the kingdom of the Cimmerian Bosporos (on the north shore of the Black Sea). This is one of the largest decree fragments in the BM’s collection, and fortunately there is also another surviving fragment of it in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens, which enables almost the entire text of this important decree to be reconstructed. The Bosporan kingdom had played a crucial role as a supplier of grain to Athens in the fourth century BC and its relations with Athens are well documented in the literary record and epigraphically. The commentary to [12](#) draws a comparison with the earlier well-preserved decree honouring Spartokos’ ancestors in 347/6 BC, [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 298](#), and other decrees of the period, illuminating the changes in the relationship that had taken place as a consequence of Athens’ evolving position in the Greek world.

By the 250s BC, the decade of the very fragmentary decrees, [13](#) and [14](#), Athens had once again been defeated (in 263/2 BC) in an attempt, in alliance with her old enemy, Sparta, to free herself from Macedonian control, the “Chremonidean War”, and was in the grip of another Antigonid, Antigonos Gonatas.<sup>95</sup> Little can be said about the context of these decrees, but I suggest in the commentaries that there is perhaps a hint of a reassertion of democratic propriety in the listing of the full board of *proedroi* in the

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<sup>93</sup> Also datable to this period are another relief from the top of a decree in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, [AIUK 3, no. 2](#) (350-325 BC), and the small fragment, apparently of an Athenian decree dealing with an interstate agreement, at Chatsworth, [AIUK 7 \(Chatsworth\), Appendix](#) (mid-4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC?).

<sup>94</sup> Decrees from this period include [AIUK 2 \(BSA\), no. 2](#), of 303/2 BC.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. the decree of Chremonides, [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 912](#).

prescript, which is first attested, perhaps significantly, in the year that the Council dedicated a statue of Democracy, 333/2 BC.

[15](#), inscribed with decrees honouring the Council prytany of the Athenian tribe Ptolemais, and dating to perhaps 192/1 BC, is the only decree of the second century BC in the BM's collection. Following a further "liberation" of Athens from Macedonian control in 229 BC, for a generation Athens had pursued a policy of avoiding, as far as possible, foreign entanglements while remaining broadly under the patronage of the Ptolemies, rulers of Egypt.<sup>96</sup> This phase of Athenian history had come to an end, however, in 200 BC, with the invasion of Attica by Philip V of Macedon in the context of Rome's Second Macedonian War. This saw Athens defending herself in alliance with Attalos and Ptolemy and coming for the first time into the orbit of Rome.<sup>97</sup> However, though faint echoes of these events in the wider world may be detectable, they are somewhat incidental to the main subject matter of this inscription, which is much more internally focussed. It belongs to a very long tradition of honours being awarded by the Assembly to the Council prytany, dating back to 408/7 BC, and represents a kind of stately dance celebrating the proper relations to each other of the three key institutions of democratic Athenian policy decision-making, the Council prytany, the Council as a whole and the Assembly.

A century and a half had elapsed before the next decree in the BM's collection, [16](#), honouring the young men who had participated in the city's programme of national service and education, the ephebes, and their commanding officers, in 41/0 or 40/39 BC.<sup>98</sup> By this time (since at least 123 BC) the ephebes included Athenians and non-Athenians, though we cannot confirm that directly in this case since the decree as preserved lacks the roster of ephebes that was appended to some other ephebic decrees of this period.<sup>99</sup> In the meantime Athens, like the rest of Greece, had become definitively incorporated into the Roman world following Rome's defeat of the Antigonid Perseus in the Third Macedonian War at the decisive battle of Pydna in 168 BC. There she was to remain save for a brief period when she supported Mithridates' revolt against Rome, resulting in the siege of Athens by the Roman general, Sulla (part of Rome's First Mithridatic War), and the sack of the city in 86 BC. Like the decree honouring the Council prytany, by the time [16](#) was passed, decrees honouring ephebes had centuries of tradition behind them, stretching back to the establishment of the reformed ephebate in 334/3 BC. [16](#) was in fact one of the last such decrees to be inscribed, one of five extant from the period between the Sullan sack and Augustus, though the ephebate itself was to continue in recognisable form through the Roman Empire until the third century AD.<sup>100</sup>

By coincidence it is to this latest period of the ephebate that [17](#) belongs, a decree of ca. 220 AD stipulating arrangements for the ephebes to escort the sacred objects for the

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<sup>96</sup> Cf. *IALD* II, 264-65; *IG II<sup>3</sup>* 1, 1160; [Lambert 2014a](#).

<sup>97</sup> Cf. *IG II<sup>3</sup>* 1, 1292 with AIO's notes.

<sup>98</sup> Within this century and half falls the important decree of 108/7 BC in Petworth House honouring the girls who helped make the *peplos* for Athena, [AIUK 1, no. 1](#).

<sup>99</sup> For the other four post-Sullan decrees honouring ephebes see [AIO 1798](#), [1836](#), [1838](#), [1837](#), with [Lambert and Schneider 2019](#).

<sup>100</sup> In this period ephebic catalogues continued to be inscribed, but without the decrees. Four such inscriptions are in the BM's collection, and will be edited in *AIUK* 4.3.

## *2. The Decrees of the Council and Assembly in the British Museum and Athenian History*

Eleusinian Mysteries. It is one of the latest inscribed decrees of the Athenian Council and Assembly altogether, and the very latest which does not contain an honorific element. Appropriately for a decree passed in the twilight of a seven and a half century history of almost continuous decree-inscribing, it looks to the past both in substance, seeking to recreate an ideal state of care for the sacred objects imagined to have existed in the mists of history, and in form, adopting, for example, the paratactic formulation of the prescript which, as we saw above ([sect. 2.3](#)), became obsolete in the fourth century BC. As far as the British Museum's collection is concerned, it also brings decree-making full circle to the topic with which it started with [1](#) in the early fifth century BC, namely to Athens' most enduring contribution to the Greek religious experience, the Eleusinian Mysteries.

## 3. THE INSCRIPTIONS

**1** REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE ELEUSINIAN MYSTERIES. BM 1816,0610.291 (formerly 1771,0315.1), Elgin Collection (g) (cf. [sect. 1](#)), Ag. I 3322b (a), Ag. I 3322a (b), Ag. I 2907a (c), Ag. I 2907b (d), Lost (e), EM 576 (f). Post of white marble, g, found by Chandler in the hall of a house by the “Theseion” (= Hephaisteion) (cf. [sect. 1](#)), to which belong a further six small fragments, some joining, f findspot not recorded, e by church of Hypapantes (near City Eleusinion<sup>101</sup>) in 1852, a-d found in the Agora excavations, 1935-1937, in the area of the City Eleusinion (for detail see *Agora* XXXI, p. 201). Inscribed on all four sides (but g does not preserve Face D). g h. 0.89, w. 0.34 (originally ca. 0.408), th. 0.20. The break at the top of g is ancient and there are signs of repair in antiquity. Attic letters, illustrated in *IG* I<sup>3</sup>, including angular B (“double pennant”) and P (“pennant”, tailless), theta = Θ, phi = Φ, some forward leaning N and three-bar ϝ (cf. [sect. 2.5](#)), h. 0.014, stoich. A and C 0.0178 (vert.), 0.0173-0.0174 (hor.); B 0.0178-0.0183 (vert.), 0.0176-0.0177 (hor.); C47-50, added non-stoich. in a later hand (e.g. no aspirate), l. h. 0.012. Setting-groove 0.034 below bottom of last line of Face A.

Major editions of g: Chandler 1774, 54 no. 26, with xxiv-xxv (B only); *CIG* I 71 + Add. p. 890\*; *IG* I 1; Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 2 (*IG* I Suppl. pp. 3-4, 1); of g with f (first published by Novossadsky, *Ath. Mitt.* 14, 1889, 410-12); Ziehen, *LGS* 3; *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 42; *IG* I<sup>2</sup> 6 + Add. p. 302; of g with f, e (first published separately by Pittakis, *Eph. Arch.* 1853 no. 1402, also as *IG* I<sup>2</sup> 9) and a-d: B. D. Meritt, *Hesp.* 14, 1945, 61-81 (ph.), and 15, 1946, 249-53 (ph.); *SEG* 10.6; Sokolowski, *LSS* 3; Clinton 1974, 10-13, 77 (C5-50 only); Cataldi 1981a; *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 6; *I Eleus.* 19 (ph.); OR 106.

Cf. *Agora* XXXI p. 201 no. 41; Scafuro 2010; I. A. Pafford, *ZPE* 177, 2011, 75-78 (*SEG* 61.44); Pafford 2013 (*SEG* 63.1844), 52-53; Blok forthcoming. Autopsy (g) Lambert 2019. In store. *Figs.* 1.1, 1.2, 1.3 (g).

**Face A**

ca. 475-450 BC

	[. . . . . <sup>15</sup> . . . . .]P[. . . . <sup>7</sup> . . .]	<b>g</b> stoich. 23
	[. . . . . <sup>14</sup> . . . . .]δραχμῆισ[ι]	
	[. . . . . <sup>15</sup> . . . . .]τ[.]ΟΣΙ[. .]	
	[. . . . . <sup>13</sup> . . . . .]με[ν]ος δε[. . .]	
5	[. . . . . <sup>13</sup> . . . . .]τὸν πόλεον[ν .]	
	[. . . . . <sup>11</sup> . . . . .]δ]οκῆι : ἀνατι[θ.]τ[.]	
	[. . . . . <sup>13</sup> . . . . .] : ἐάν τι[ς] τῷ[ν .]	
	[. . . . . <sup>14</sup> . . . . .]ον ἐ[.]ΗΟ[.]Α[. .]	
	[. . . . . <sup>15</sup> . . . . .]ἐ[.]εν[.]ορ[. .]	
10	[. . . . . <sup>15</sup> . . . . .]α[.]ήιν[α . .]	
	[. . . . . <sup>14</sup> . . . . .]ΝΤΟ[.]ιν σ[.]	
	[. . . . . <sup>14</sup> . . . . .]ο[. . .]τ[. . .]	
	[. . . . . <sup>23</sup> . . . . .]	
	[. . . . . <sup>12</sup> . . . . .]ε[.]ο[. . . . . <sup>7</sup> . .]	

<sup>101</sup> Cf. *Agora* XXXI, pp. 3-6; Biris 1940, 42 with map no. 113.

15 [. . . . .<sup>12</sup>. . . . .]εχ<sup>θ</sup>εο[. . .]χε  
 [. . . . .<sup>12</sup>. . . . .]δε[. . . . .<sup>7</sup>]ο[.]  
 [. . . . .<sup>10</sup>. . . . .]ἐὰν δὲ μ[έ, ηε]κασ[τ]-  
 [. . . . .<sup>12</sup>. . . . .]ο[. . . . .]ε[.]σε[. .]  
 [. . . . .<sup>12</sup>. . . . .]α[. . . . .]-[.]ΙΛ[. .]  
 20 [. . . . .<sup>17</sup>. . . . .]ις πε[.]  
 [. . . . .<sup>14</sup>. . . . .]ετα[.]τεν[.]  
 [. . . . .<sup>15</sup>. . . . .]ΟΙΛ[. . . . .<sup>5</sup>.]  
 [. . . . .<sup>16</sup>. . . . .]πο[. . . . .<sup>5</sup>.]  
 [. . . . .<sup>8</sup>. . . . .]σειαν κα[ι] λ[α]μ[. . . . .]  
 25 [. . . . .<sup>7</sup>. . . . .]ολεῖ κα[ι] μ[έ] νεοτερ[.]-  
 [. . . . .]ο τῷ [ηιε]ρῷ· ἐὰν δὲ [.]  
 [. . . . .<sup>7</sup>. . . . .]ι μὲ χρ[έ]σθ[ο]· ἐὰν δὲ ἰ[.]  
 [. . . . .<sup>5</sup>. . . . .]κατὰ ταύτ[α] ταῦτα· ἐὰν [.]  
 [. . . . .]πλεῖστον κατ[ὰ] τὴν δύναμ[ι]-  
 30 [ιν . . . . .] πρᾶχσαι δ' ἑκπραχ<σι>[ν· ἐ]-  
 [ὰν δὲ μὲ] ἐγδοῖ τὸν ὀφλόντα, μ[έ]  
 [χρέσθ[ο] τῷ] hieroi : ἐὰν ἀμφι[σ]-  
 [βετῶσι] μὲ κλεθῆναι ἐμ πό[λει]  
 [. . . . .<sup>7</sup>. . . . .]εν ἐλθῶ[σ]αν ἀδικ[ί]α[.]  
 35 [. . . . .<sup>7</sup>. . . . .]ἡστέρον ηε [β]ο[λ]ῆ α[.]  
 [. . . . .<sup>8</sup>. . . . .]ι : τὸν Ἀθηναῖον μὲ [.]  
*e* [. . .]ΕΣ[. . .] ούτον τὸν πόλεον μ[έ]-  
 δε χαμῶ [.] ιασθαι ἐὰν μὲ δ[ί]κ[ε]-  
 ν ὀφλόν[τα] ἐπιχορίαν ἔξ πο[λ]-  
 40 εμίος λ[εφ]θέντα· ἡτίς δ' ἂν τῷ-  
μ πόλεον μὲ ἐθέλει, δ[ί]κας δι[δ]-  
όναι καὶ δέχεσθαι Ἀθηναί[οι]-  
σιν ἀπὸ χσν<μ>βολῶν.  
*vacat*

**Face B**

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 [. . . . .<sup>9</sup>. . . . .]ις *d* stoich. 11  
 [. . . . .<sup>8</sup>. . . . .]ντο  
 [. . . . .<sup>8</sup>. . . . .]τος  
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 [. . . . .<sup>10</sup>. . . . .]τ]-  
 5 [ὰ] μὲν ἡκόσι[α] *g*  
 [η]απλῆι, τὰ δὲ [η]-  
 [ε]κόσια διπλῆ-  
 [ι· σ]πονδὰς εἶν-

10 [αι] τοῖσι μύστ-  
 [εσ]ιν καὶ το[ῖς]  
 [ἐπ]όπτεισιν [κ]-  
 [αὶ τ]οῖς ἀκολ[ο]-  
 [ύθ]οισιν καὶ [χ]-  
 [ρέ]μασιν τῶν [ὁ]-  
 15 [θ]νείον καὶ [Ἀθ]-  
 [ε]ν[α]ίοισιν [h]ἄ- *a*  
 πασιν· ἄρχε[ν] δ-  
 ἐ τὸν χρόνο[ν] τ-  
 ὦν σπονδῶν [τ]ῷ  
 20 Μεταγειτνιῶ-  
 νος μενὸς ἀπ[ὸ]  
 διχομενίας [κ]-  
 αὶ τὸν Βοεδρ[ο]-  
 μιῶνα καὶ τῷ [Π]-  
 25 υανοφσιῶνος  
 μέχρι δεκάτε-  
 ς ηισταμένο· τ-  
 ἄς δὲ σπονδὰς  
 εἶναι ἐν τῆισ-  
 30 ι πόλεσιν ἡό[σ]-  
 αι χρῶνται τῶ-  
 ι ἱερῶι καὶ Ἀ-  
 θεναίοισιν ἐ-  
 κεῖ ἐν τῆισιν  
 35 αὐτέσι πόλεσ-  
 ιν· τοῖσι δὲ ὁλ-  
 εῖζοσι μυστε-  
 ρίοισιν τὰς [σ]-  
 πονδὰς εἶνα[ι]  
 40 τῷ Γαμελιῶνο-  
 ς μενὸς ἀπὸ δ[ι]-  
 [χ]ομενίας κα[ὶ]  
 τὸν Ἀνθεστε[ρ]-  
 [ι]ῶνα καὶ τῷ Ἐλ-  
 45 αφεβολιῶνος  
 μέχρι δεκάτε-  
 ς ηισταμένο.  
*vacat*

*Face C*



**d**      [. . .]θαῖ[. . . . .<sup>17</sup>. . . . .]  
           [.]αθεμ[. . . . .<sup>19</sup>. . . . .]  
           ναιτ[. . . . .<sup>19</sup>. . . . .]  
           [.]στ[. . . . .<sup>20</sup>. . . . .]  
           -----

stoich. 23

5      [. . . . .<sup>12</sup>. . . . .] ὀβολ[ὸν παρὰ τ]- **f**  
           [ὃ μύστο hekásto]ο : hier[. . . . .]  
           [δε λαμβάνεν he]μιοβέ[λιον . .]

**g**      [. . .]εραν [παρὰ τ]ὃ μύστο [hε]κ[ά]σ[σ]- **c**  
           [το]· τὲν hier[εα]ν τὲν Δέμετρος

10      [λ]αμ[β]άνεν μυ[στ]ερίοις τ[ο]ῖς ὀ-  
           [λ]έξοσιν παρὰ [τῷ μ]ύστο h[εκ]άσ-  
           [τ]ο ὀβολὸν καὶ [τοῖς μ]εῖζ[οσιν]  
           [μ]υστερίοις ὀβολὸν παρὰ τῷ μ]-  
           [ύσ]το hekásto· σ[ύ]μπαντας ? ὀβο]-

**a**      15      lós τοῖν θεοῖν εἶναι πλὲν he]- **b**  
           chasko[σ]ίον κα[ὶ] χιλίον δρ[α]χμ-  
           on· ἀπὸ δὲ τὸν he[chaskosío]ν κα-

i χιλίον δραχμ[ὸν τὲν hi]έρεα-  
           ν τὰναλόματα [δῶναι καθ]άπερ  
           teos [ἀ]νέλοτο· Ε[ὐ]μολπίδ]ας κα-  
           i Κέρ[υκ]ας λαμβάν[εν παρὰ] τῷ μ-  
           ύστ[ο h]εκάστο πέν[τε ὀβολὸς τ]-  
           on [ἀρρ]ένον, thelido[ν δὲ τρεῖς]·

          [ἀτελῆ μ]ύστεμ μὲ ἐν[εῖναι μὲ]-  
           [ν μεδέ]να πλὲν τῷ ἀφ' [ἐστίας μυ]-  
           [ομέν]ο· Κέρυκας δὲ μυ[ῖεν . . . . .<sup>5</sup>. . .]  
           [. . .] μύστας hekáston [καὶ Εὐμο]-  
           [λ]π[ίδ]ας κατὰ ταύτά· ἐ[ὰν δὲ ? . . . .]

30      [.] πλείος εὐθύνεσθα[ι . . . . .<sup>6</sup>. . .]  
           [.] δρ[α]χμῆσι· μὲν δὲ h[οὶ ἂν heβ]-  
           ὄσι Κερύκον καὶ Εὐ[μολπιδὸν]·  
           τῷ δὲ hierō ἀργυρί[ο . . . . .<sup>7</sup>. . .]

          [.]ΕΚ[. . .]εἶναι Ἀθεν[αίοισι . . .]  
           [.]σθαι hō[τι] ἂν βόλο[νται καθά]-  
           per τῷ tes ἈθENAÍΑ[ς ἀργυρίο]  
           τῷ ἐμ πόλει· τὸ δὲ ἀρ[γυρίον τὸ]-  
           s hieropoios "[.]το[. . . . .<sup>7</sup>. . . ἐ]-  
           [μ] πόλει ταμιεύεσθ[αι . . . . .<sup>6</sup>. . .]

40      [.]δ[. . . . .]χεν ἐν τῷ h[. . . . .<sup>8</sup>. . . . .]  
           [.]β[. . . . .]εν τογ[ὸ]ρφ[ανον . . . . .<sup>5</sup>. . .]

[.] τὸς ὀρφανὸς παῖ[δας καὶ τὸς]  
 [μ]ύστας ἑκάστοι I[. . . . .<sup>8</sup> . . . .]  
 [τ]ὸς μύστας τὸς Ἐλε[υσῖνι . . .]  
 [.]ενος ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ [ἐντὸς τῷ h]-  
 45 [ι]ερῷ, τὸς δὲ ἐν ἅστει [. . . .<sup>7</sup> . . .]  
 [.] ἐν τῷ Ἐλευσινίῳ [νννννν]  
 [τ]ὸν ἐπὶ τῷ βομῷ ἱερέα καὶ τ[ὸν . . .<sup>c.6</sup> . . .] non-stoich.  
 [τ]ὸν θεοῖν καὶ τὸν ἱερέα τὸ[ν . . . .<sup>c.8</sup> . . . .]  
 [λ]ανβάνεν ἕκαστον τότο[ν ὀβολὸν παρὰ<sup>νν</sup>?]  
 50 [τῷ] μύστ[ο ἐ]κάστο ἱ[ερὸν τοῖν θεοῖν<sup>νννν</sup>?].

**Face D**

-----  
 10 ρα[. . . . .<sup>9</sup> . . . .] **c** stoich. 11  
 ρο[. . . . .<sup>9</sup> . . . .]  
 υο[. . . . .<sup>9</sup> . . . .]  
 υ[. . . . .<sup>10</sup> . . . . .]  
 [. . . . .<sup>11</sup> . . . . .]  
 [. . . . .<sup>11</sup> . . . . .]  
 [. . . . .<sup>11</sup> . . . . .]  
 15 [. . . . .<sup>11</sup> . . . . .]  
 [. . . . .<sup>9</sup> . . . . .] **b**  
 ς μυ[. . . . .<sup>8</sup> . . . .]  
 τρε[. . . . .<sup>8</sup> . . . .]  
 τον[. . . . .<sup>8</sup> . . . .]  
 20 το[. . . . .<sup>9</sup> . . . .]  
 υβ[. . . . .<sup>9</sup> . . . .]  
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Underlined letters are preserved on the smaller fragments *a-f*. Except where indicated below, and except for minor adjustments to *g* from autopsy, the above text follows *I Eleus.* 19, which was based on fresh autopsy by Clinton of all the surviving fragments. Clinton prints one more letter than *IG* I<sup>3</sup> at the end of the lines on Face A, ll. 1-42. For the earlier history of the text see the apparatus in *IG* I<sup>3</sup> || A2 δραχμῆισ[ι] *IG*, ΔΡΑΧΜΗΙ *I Eleus.* || A25 .]ολεῖ *IG*, .]Οολεῖ *I Eleus.* || A30 ΕΚΠΡΑΧΙΣ stone || A43 ΧΣΥΒΟΛΟΝ stone || C6 ἱερ[οφάντι]δε *I Eleus.*, ἱερ[οποιὸς] *IG* || C7-8 ἡ[ε]μιοβέ[λιον ἡ[ε]κατ]έραν *I Eleus.*, ἡ[ε]μιοβέ[λιον κα|θ' ἐμ]έραν *IG* || C26-7 *IG*, μυ[έν δίχα τ|ὸς] *I Eleus.* || C28-9 ἐ[ὰν δὲ κατ|ὰ] πλείος *I Eleus.* || C29-30 χιλιάσι|ι] *I Eleus.* and *IG*, ἡκατὸ|ν] ? Blok, noting that there is no secure case of a fine on officials as high as 1000 dr. before 450 BC || C32-3 Pafford, ἀργυρί[ο τῆς ἀπαρ]|χῆς ἐχ[σ]εῖναι *I Eleus.*, ἀργυρί[ο . . . .<sup>7</sup> . . .] | [.]Εϛ[. . . .]ιναι *IG* || C33-4 Ἀθεν[αίοισι χρ]|ῆσθαι ἡό[τι] *I Eleus.*, Ἀθεν[αίοισι . . .]|.σθαι ἡέος *IG* || C37-8 ἱεροποιὸς τ[ὸ] τοῖν θεοῖν ἐ|[μ] *I Eleus.*, ἱεροποιὸς τ[.]το[. . . .<sup>7</sup> . . . ἐ|[μ] *IG* || C43-4 *IG*, Ἐλε[υσῖνι μυο]|[μ]ένος *I Eleus.* || C45-6 *IG*, ἅστει [μυομένο]|[ς] *I Eleus.* || C47-8 τ[ὸν κέρυκα] | τὸν θεοῖν καὶ τὸν ἱερέα τὸ[ν παναγῆ<sup>νν</sup>] *I Eleus.*, τ[ὸν φαιδυντῆν] | το<ĩ>ν

### 3. The Inscriptions. 1 Regulations Concerning the Eleusinian Mysteries

θεοῖν καὶ τὸν ἱερέα τὸ[ν —————<sup>c. 12</sup>—] IG || C49-50 I Eleus., τότο[ν —————<sup>c. 10</sup>— παρὰ] | [τῷ  
μύστ[ο ἐ]κάστο I — — IG.

#### Face A

. . . | . . . drachmas | . . . | . . . | (5) . . . of the cities | . . . decides, dedicate | . . . if anyone of  
the | . . . either whoever (?) | . . . or . . . | (10) . . . in order that (?) . . . 6 lines traces . . . (17)  
but if not, each . . . 6 lines traces . . . (24) . . . and . . . | (25) . . . and not newer or younger  
(?) | let him use the sanctuary; but if | . . . let him not use it; and if | . . . these things (are to  
apply) in the same way; and if | . . . most according to his (?) power . . . | (30) and shall  
carry out the exaction; but | if he does not turn in the debtor, let him not | use the  
sanctuary; if they dispute (?) | that they have been summoned on the Acropolis (?) | . . .  
having come (*fem. sing.*) . . . injustice (?) | (35) . . . later the Council | . . . of the Athenians  
not | . . . of these cities | . . . unless he has lost a case | in a local court or | (40) been  
captured among the enemy; and any city | that is not willing shall give | and receive court  
cases with the Athenians | according to the existing conventions.

#### Face B

Traces | (5) for involuntary acts, | a simple penalty, for | voluntary acts a double penalty; |  
and there shall be a truce | for the initiates | (10) and for the | epoptai,<sup>102</sup> and | for the  
companions or servants | and | property of the | (15) foreigners and for all | Athenians; |  
and the time | of the truce | is to begin | (20) in the month | Metageitnion, from | the full  
moon, and | to continue through | Boedromion and | (25) Pyanopsion | until the | tenth; |  
and the truce | is to apply in the | (30) cities that | use the | sanctuary and to | the Athenians  
| there in the | (35) same cities; | and for the | Lesser | Mysteries the | truce is to be | (40) in  
the month Gamelion | from the | full moon and | through Anthesterion | and in | (45)  
Elaphebolion | until the | tenth.<sup>103</sup>

#### Face C

Traces (5) . . . an obol from | each [initiate]; and the - | shall take half an obol | [each] from  
each initiate; | and the priestess of Demeter | (10) shall take at the Lesser | Mysteries from  
each initiate | an obol, and at the Greater | Mysteries an obol from | each initiate; [all the?]  
obols | (15) shall belong to the two Goddesses except | for one thousand six hundred  
drachmas; and from | the one thousand six hundred drachmas | the priestess shall | pay the  
expenses just | (20) as they have been paid until now; and the Eumolpidai and | the  
Kerykes are to take from | each initiate five obols | from the men, three obols from the  
women; | an initiate who has not paid shall not embark on | (25) initiation, except for the  
hearth-initiate; | and the Kerykes shall initiate the initiates -, | each one, and the

<sup>102</sup> *Epoptai* were participants in the Mysteries who had already been initiated in a previous year (cf. *I. Eleus.*, vol. 2, pp. 8-11).

<sup>103</sup> The Greater Mysteries took place from 13-16 (or 17) and 19-22 Boedromion (autumn). Metageitnion was the previous month and Pyanopsion the subsequent one. The Lesser Mysteries took place around 20 Anthesterion (late winter), Gamelion being the previous month and Elaphebolion the subsequent one. The truce was clearly designed to enable Athenians and foreign participants in the Mysteries to travel unmolested to and from the rites.

Eumolpidai | in the same way; [but if?] | . . . more, they shall be fined [a hundred?] | (30) drachmas at their scrutiny; and those of the | Kerykes and Eumolpidai who have reached adulthood may initiate; | and the Athenians may - | the sacred money . . . | whatever they wish, just like | (35) the money of Athena | on the Acropolis; and the | *hieropoioi* shall look after the money [of the two Goddesses?] | on the Acropolis . . . | . . . in the . . . | (40) of the orphans . . . | the orphan children and the | initiates each . . . | the initiates who are [initiated?] at Eleusis | in the courtyard within the | (45) sanctuary, and those who are [initiated?] | in the city in the Eleusinion. | *Added a little later:* The altar-priest and the [-] | of the two Goddesses and the priest who . . . | are to take, each of these [an obol from?] | (50) each initiate, [sacred to the two Goddesses?]

#### Face D

#### Traces

It is a happy coincidence that both the latest decree of the Athenian Assembly in the British Museum's collection, **17** of the early third century AD, and the earliest, **1**, which dates some three-quarters of a millennium earlier, relate to the Eleusinian Mysteries, for the Mysteries were the most significant and enduring Athenian contribution to the Greek religious experience.<sup>104</sup> The two decrees also illustrate a significant and enduring aspect of the Athenian epigraphic habit: its intimate connection with the religious life of the city. Not only were inscribed decrees of the Athenian Assembly typically erected in religious sanctuaries, usually on the Acropolis, in this case in the City Eleusinion at the foot of the Acropolis' north slope, they also often had a religious aspect to their content, whether, as in this case, directly and explicitly, or more indirectly and obliquely.<sup>105</sup> Of the ca. two thousand extant inscribed decrees of the Athenian Assembly erected between the "democratic" reforms of Cleisthenes in 508 BC and the sack of Athens by the Heruli in 267 AD, this is one of the very earliest, one of a small handful that pre-date the transfer of the treasury of the Delian League to Athens in 454 BC, the consequent beginning of the monumental series of inscribed records on the Acropolis of the portion of allied tribute set aside for Athena, the Athenian Tribute Lists, and the Periclean building programme that got underway shortly thereafter. Like most of the other inscribed Assembly decrees pre-dating the late 450s, this one not only has religious content, it was also set up in the sanctuary to which it directly related.<sup>106</sup> It also predates the emergence, also around the middle of the fifth century, of the stele as the standard format for the inscribed decree.

<sup>104</sup> For Pausanias in the second century AD the Eleusinian Mysteries and the Olympic Games were the most notable manifestations of the divine that Greece had to offer (μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς Ἐλευσίνι δρωμένοις καὶ ἀγῶνι τῷ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ μέτεστιν ἐκ θεοῦ φροντίδος, Paus. 5.10.1).

<sup>105</sup> Cf. [sect. 2.6](#).

<sup>106</sup> Like [IG I<sup>3</sup> 2-3](#) (from the Herakleion at Marathon), [5](#) (provisions from Eleusis for an Eleusinian festival, probably the Eleusinia), [8](#) (provisions from Sounion relating to the cult of Poseidon). [IG I<sup>3</sup> 4](#) and [7](#) (which may be later) were set up on the Acropolis, but also apply specifically to the Acropolis. [IG I<sup>3</sup> 1](#), containing regulations for the Salamis cleruchy, and perhaps the earliest of all inscribed decrees (ca. 508-500 BC?) is the only one of this early set to foreshadow the practice, which became established after ca. 454 BC, of erecting decrees of a generic public character on the Acropolis.

Instead it is inscribed in a more archaic format, on all four sides of a pillar or post.<sup>107</sup> Unlike some of the other early decrees, however, it is inscribed stoichedon, i.e. its letters are arranged in vertical columns, a style of which perhaps the earliest, and certainly most spectacular, example among Assembly decrees was the inscribed regulations for the Acropolis, [IG I<sup>3</sup> 4](#) (probably 485/4 BC).<sup>108</sup> The lettering, cut in the Attic alphabet that was used for most public inscriptions from before 403 BC, is characteristic of the period shortly before mid-century, with more conservative features including angular, “pennant-shaped” betas and rhos, phi =  $\Phi$ , forward leaning nus and three-bar sigmas, though there are also some more “progressive” features, such as the tailless rhos.<sup>109</sup> There is nothing in the content of the decree to suggest a specific historical context. Clinton is probably right that the background trigger was the increasing popularity of the Mysteries at this period;<sup>110</sup> but that does not dictate a particular historical moment. On the basis of its format and letter forms it has conventionally been dated ca. 460 BC (ca. 470-460 BC Clinton). This is probably about right, though it suggests greater precision than stylistic features can sustain. A broader range, ca. 475-450 BC, is more realistic.

We lack the evidence to reconstruct the pre-history of the cult of the “Two Goddesses”, Demeter and her daughter, Kore (= Persephone), at Eleusis, but the indications are that, by the time of our decree, the Eleusinian Mysteries had been well-established for a long time, perhaps since the eighth century BC and certainly by the sixth.<sup>111</sup> The Mysteries are also implied in two archaic literary sources: an apparently genuinely archaic “law of Solon”,<sup>112</sup> and the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*.<sup>113</sup> It is also clear

<sup>107</sup> Cf. Meyer 2016, 353-63 with table 1. [AIUK 4.1 \(BM, Cult Provisions\), no. 2](#) and [no. 3](#) are comparable. Like those two inscriptions the faces of this one follow each other in sequence to the right, a feature that, as Peter Thonemann notes in forthcoming work, is common in (not only Attic) inscriptions inscribed in this type of format.

<sup>108</sup> [IG I<sup>3</sup> 3](#), also stoichedon, dates to around the same time.

<sup>109</sup> On fifth-century letter-forms see Tracy 2016; above, [sect. 2.5](#).

<sup>110</sup> Face C provides that expenses of 1,600 dr. be met from the fees paid by initiates to priestly personnel and envisages a surplus to be set aside for the Two Goddesses. The fees amounted to ca. 7 obols, and on that basis covering the expenses alone would require 1,372 initiates each year (cf. OR). Clinton, on *I Eleus.* 19, p. 39, notes in this context also the repeated enlargement of the Telesterion at Eleusis from the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century to the Periclean period, and p. 42 the implication of the prohibition on group initiations at C26-31.

<sup>111</sup> See in general, M. Miles, *Agora XXXI*, p. 21. The latest archaeological analysis finds cult attested at Eleusis from the eighth century BC at the latest, possibly including Mystery aspects already at that time, but certainly by the sixth century: F. van den Eijnde, in I. Lemos and A. Tsingarida eds., *Beyond the Polis. Collective Rituals and the Construction of Social Identity in Early Greece (12th – 6th century B.C.)* (2019), 91-106. See also M. B. Cosmopoulos, *Bronze Age Eleusis and the Origins of the Eleusinian Mysteries* (2015), 31-42.

<sup>112</sup> Leão and Rhodes 2015, 143-44, F 88 (Athen. 6.234E-F), refers to the Kerykes as the *genos* of the Mysteries, citing the *kyrbeis*: καὶ τῷ κήρυκε ἐκ τοῦ γένους τῶν Κηρύκων τοῦ τῆς μυστηριώτιδος. τούτους δὲ παρασιτεῖν ἐν τῷ Δηλίῳ ἐνιαυτόν. “Polemon ... probably copied the information directly from inscribed physical objects” (Leão and Rhodes 2015). Cf. Parker 1996, 300-1. The law of Solon providing for the meeting of the Council in the Eleusinion after the Mysteries, Leão and Rhodes 2015, 153-54, F 95 (Andocides 1.111) is sometimes also cited in this context (cf. *Agora XXXI*, 21 n. 33), though Leão and Rhodes doubt whether it is authentically Solonian. The Eleusinian provisions in the sacrificial calendar of the city as revised at the end of

that it was fully integrated into the city's cultic system from an early date. The City Eleusinion on the north slope of the Acropolis (the putative original location of our inscription) was established already by the early seventh century;<sup>114</sup> as our inscription makes clear, the "Greater" Mysteries at Eleusis were institutionally integrated with the "Lesser Mysteries" at Agrai, just outside the city walls; and there is abundant epigraphical evidence that, by the Classical period, the cult of Eleusinian Demeter had been very well embedded in Attic localities for a long time.<sup>115</sup>

Our earliest epigraphic evidence of cult regulation from the City Eleusinion consists of two very fragmentary inscriptions (altars?), perhaps issued by the Eleusinian *gene*,<sup>116</sup> that appear to make provision for sacrificial extras for the Mysteries,<sup>117</sup> and for other city cults.<sup>118</sup> In our inscription we see for the first time the city exercising firm control over the cult, as it makes fundamental provisions for key aspects of the Mysteries.<sup>119</sup> Patently these provisions in some sense represent a statement or (perhaps) "codification" of existing practice, though some degree of innovation is also possible.<sup>120</sup> Since we do not know the precise arrangements that applied before this decree, it is impossible to be certain. We do not know why these regulations were issued at just this time, though it is a characteristic of early Attic cult regulations that, like this one, they seek to regulate financial aspects, for which the inscription seems to function in some sense as a guarantee. A fragmentary inscribed law about the Mysteries is extant from about a century later;<sup>121</sup> it seems to have superseded many, perhaps all, of the provisions of our inscription,<sup>122</sup> and provides for the first time for appointment of "managers" (*epimeletai*) of the Mysteries, of whom we later hear a good deal in the epigraphical record.<sup>123</sup> In the meantime the Assembly had passed other measures which effectively supplement our inscription, notably a decree of 432/1 BC or later establishing "overseers"

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the 5<sup>th</sup> century ([SEG 52.48A](#) F 3, ll. 60-86, F 5, l. 14, F 12, ll. 2-3) are quite possibly also of long standing.

<sup>113</sup> Cf. M. Miles, *Agora XXXI*, pp. 21-23.

<sup>114</sup> M. Miles, *Agora XXXI*, pp. 16-23.

<sup>115</sup> E.g. in Phaleron (*IG I<sup>3</sup> 32 = I Eleus. 30*, 2-3); Thorikos ([Lupu, NGS 1](#), with AIO's notes); Paiania ([IG I<sup>3</sup> 250](#)); the Marathonian Tetrapolis ([SEG 50.168](#), with AIO's notes; note the sacrifice dated there "before the Mysteries", A2, 5); Phrearrhioi ([Lupu, NGS 3](#)).

<sup>116</sup> *Gene* were descent groups which supplied priests and priestesses for older Athenian cults and played important roles in their religious administration. Cf. [OR 108](#) (Praxiergidai); [RO 37](#) (Salaminiotai). The most frequently mentioned *gene* with roles in the Eleusinian Mysteries were the Eumolpidai, who supplied the hierophant, and the Kerykes, who supplied the "torchbearer" (dadouch). As our inscription makes clear, only members of these two *gene* had the right to initiate into the Mysteries. On the Philleidai, who supplied the priestess of Demeter, see below (n. [126](#)).

<sup>117</sup> [I Eleus. 7](#) (= *IG I<sup>3</sup> 231*), ca. 510-490 BC.

<sup>118</sup> [AIUK 4.1 \(BM, Cult Provisions\), no. 1](#) (= *IG I<sup>3</sup> 232*), ca. 510-490 BC.

<sup>119</sup> [I Eleus. 13](#) (= *IG I<sup>3</sup> 5*), of 500-470 BC, from Eleusis, is also referred to the Mysteries by Clinton, but perhaps relates rather to the Eleusinia festival.

<sup>120</sup> For discussion of this inscription in the context of other extant city regulations relevant to the Eleusinian Mysteries and the extent to which they represent "codifications", see Scafuro 2010.

<sup>121</sup> *I. Eleus. 138* (= *SEG 30.61 = Agora XVI 56*).

<sup>122</sup> See Clinton on *I Eleus. 138*, p. 117; Scafuro 2010, 38-40.

<sup>123</sup> See [IG II<sup>3</sup> 4, 212](#), with AIO's notes.

(*epistatai*) to look after the finances of the two Goddesses;<sup>124</sup> and (not directly related to our inscription) a decree of ca. 435 BC (?) providing for the collection of Eleusinian first fruits.<sup>125</sup>

*I Eleus.* and OR have both recently supplied full commentaries on the detail of this decree. Rather than repeat points made by them, I offer three general observations. First, tenure of responsible public office at Athens was normally limited to adult male citizens, but there is one significant exception, namely priestesses, whose gender normally corresponded to that of the deity they served. The priestess of Demeter at Eleusis, who was apparently member of an otherwise little-known *genos*, the Philleidai, was the senior priestess of the Eleusinian cult.<sup>126</sup> She is included on Face C in a list of officiants who are to receive payments, an obol from each initiate at the Lesser Mysteries, and an obol from each initiate at the Greater Mysteries (C9-14). This is not especially remarkable;<sup>127</sup> more so is the role ascribed to the priestess in the following clauses (C14-20), for it is the priestess, and not one of the male priests or the *gene* Eumolpidai and Kerykes, who is charged with paying the “expenses” (*analomata*) for which the considerable sum of 1,600 drachmas is to be set aside from the obols paid by the initiates, “just as they have been paid until now”.<sup>128</sup> Given that they had this kind of financial responsibility it is unsurprising that priestesses were publicly accountable and were required (as were priests and *gene*) to undergo *euthynai* on the same basis as other public officials.<sup>129</sup> Like other officials, both priests and priestesses could also be honoured with crowns in inscribed decrees of the Council and Assembly. Those which survive are Hellenistic in date,<sup>130</sup> but

<sup>124</sup> *IG I<sup>3</sup> 32 = I. Eleus. 30.* These officials also feature in the fourth-century law.

<sup>125</sup> [IG I<sup>3</sup> 78](#) = *I Eleus. 28.* Andocides, a member of the *genos* Kerykes and as such responsible for initiations (1.132), claims (1.116) that a law displayed on a “stele” in the City Eleusinion forbade the laying of a suppliant branch in the Eleusinion, subject to a penalty of 1,000 drachmas. This provision might originally have been included somewhere in our inscription or a different one.

<sup>126</sup> On this priesthood and its known tenants see J. H. Blok and S. D. Lambert, *ZPE* 169, 2009, 119-22 (with references there to earlier studies).

<sup>127</sup> For the priestess of Demeter as recipient of perquisites (in this case a substantial payment of 100 dr.) cf. in the sacrificial calendar of the city, [SEG 52.48A](#) F3, ll. 75-76.

<sup>128</sup> Pafford 2013, 52-53, notes that this is the earliest documented example of the involvement of religious personnel in ritual accounting. She emphasises that “from a religious point of view the money contributed by the initiates at Eleusis constituted a prescribed offering”, like, in other circumstances, a piglet or a cake. However, unlike the obols paid to the priestly officiants, what was to be done with those payable to (the initiators from) the *gene* is unspecified. By analogy with those paid to the priests they are perhaps more likely to have been paid into common (*genos*?) funds than treated as personal perquisites of individual initiators. How exactly the fees were to be handled was perhaps left to the *gene* themselves to regulate. Pafford notes that later inscriptions document at least two stone *thesauroi*, treasure-chests, at Eleusis, with the amounts deposited in them included in the general financial accounts of the sanctuary: *IG I<sup>3</sup> 386-7*, of 408/7 BC, with new text and commentary by Cavanaugh 1996, 99-216; *IG I<sup>3</sup> 392*, ca. 420 BC; *IG II<sup>2</sup> 1672*, 329 BC.

<sup>129</sup> Aeschin. 3.18. The fragmentarily preserved speech of Lykourgos, *On the Priestess* (Lyk. 6), confirms that priestesses, in that case apparently the priestess of Athena, were liable to prosecution in their public capacity in the courts.

<sup>130</sup> They are discussed as a group, including from the point of view of articulation of gender, in Lambert 2012, and all are on AIO (Browse page, s.v. [Priests and Priestesses](#)).



there is possible indirect evidence for a fifth-century decree, or decrees, honouring the priestess of Demeter in [IG I<sup>3</sup> 953](#), a dedicatory base from the City Eleusinion, dating perhaps to 450-425 BC. If the poetic language of the epigram inscribed on it is correctly interpreted in this sense, it was apparently mounted by two crowns (*stephanō*). In language which recalls that often used in later honorific decrees, the epigram emphasises that the priestess had not spared her possessions, “but to the gods she is unstinting to the extent of her ability”. The name of that priestess was Lysistrate, and she, along with her similarly named colleague Lysimache, long-serving priestess of Athena Polias, may be alluded to in the feisty eponymous heroine of Aristophanes’ play, *Lysistrata*.<sup>131</sup>

Second, the decree is notable for its harnessing of the Mysteries as a vehicle for the projection of Athenian prestige on the international scene, especially in its arrangements for a Panhellenic sacred truce (B8-47) in terms which put the Mysteries on a par with the Olympic truce, and under which Athenians were to enjoy a privileged position (the truce is to apply to all Athenians everywhere, but to others only insofar as they are participants in the Mysteries, B8-17).<sup>132</sup> Athens also asserts itself through the provisions which precede the truce provisions (A and B1-7). These make legal arrangements, the character and scope of which can not be fully apprehended because of the fragmentary state of the text. The thrust, however, as Clinton notes, is to deny access to the sanctuary to those acting in undesirable ways towards the city,<sup>133</sup> and which include a striking prohibition on anyone who does not yield up someone who owes a debt to the city. The decree articulates provisions within a religious context and framework, but is entirely consonant with the broader image of an aspirant imperial city that Athens was to seek to project in its inscribed decrees later in the fifth century BC.

Third, the city, that is the Assembly, is equally self-assertive, but this time in the domestic sphere, over the arrangements for initiation into the Mysteries. The surviving text of Face C specifies that various priestly officiants are to receive an obol from each initiate (5-20, and 32-46, supplemented by the addendum at 47-50), 1,600 drachmas of which, as we have seen, are to be used to pay the expenses of the festival. The remainder is to be set aside for the two Goddesses, to be kept, it seems, on the Acropolis, like the sacred funds of Athena. C20-31 on the other hand specify the amounts payable by each initiate to the Eumolpidae and Kerykes, who alone had the right to sponsor an initiate: 5 obols from a male initiate, 3 obols from a female, except for the “hearth-initiate”, a special child-initiate, initiated from the “hearth” of the city (i.e. the city hall, *prytaneion*) and who

<sup>131</sup> See AIO’s notes to [IG I<sup>3</sup> 953](#). Lysimache: [IG II<sup>2</sup> 3453](#) with AIO’s notes.

<sup>132</sup> Cf. Thuc. 5.49-50. We need not imagine, however, that the truce for the Mysteries was wholly an innovation of our decree. The *genos* Kerykes (“Heralds”) may originally have been so named for their role in announcing it (Parker 1996, 300-1). The provisions for the truce were repeated in modified form in the fourth-century law, *I Eleus.* 138 A, 14-17. However, the earliest dated epigraphical reference to it after our decree, [RO 35](#) (367/6 BC), shows that Athens’ self-assertion via the truce may not at all times have been uniformly well-received. In that decree Athens protests to the Aitolian League about the detention by the Trichonians of the Eumolpidae and Kerykes who had been sent to announce the truce.

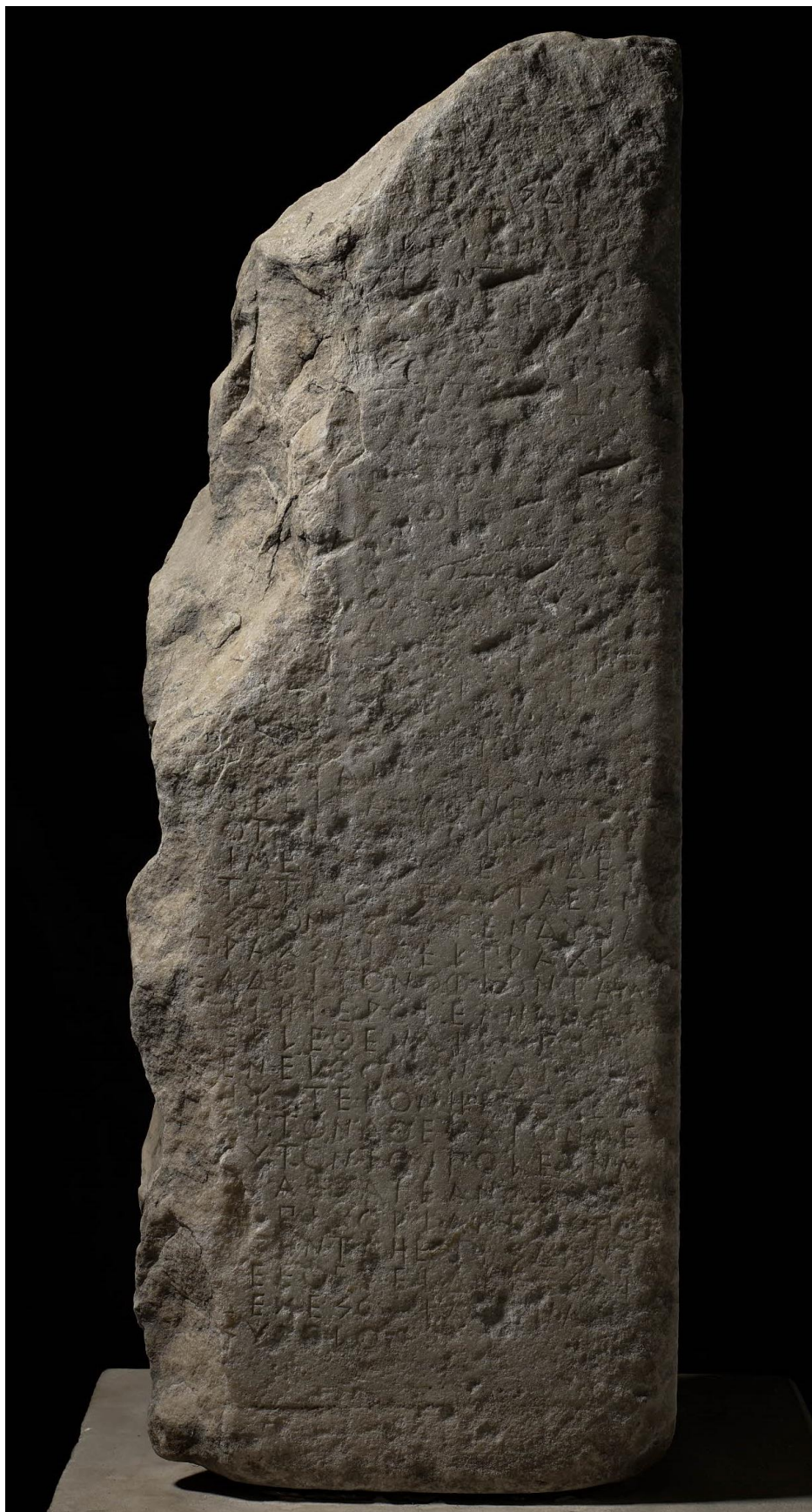
<sup>133</sup> On *I Eleus.* 19, p. 39.

### 3. *The Inscriptions. I Regulations Concerning the Eleusinian Mysteries*

in some sense represented the whole city.<sup>134</sup> It is also provided that only adult members of the two *gene* were permitted to carry out an initiation, and, it seems, that initiation was to be carried out individually rather than in groups. One can easily see how there was scope for irregularities of various kinds, and indeed for exploitation of eager initiates by unscrupulous official personnel, and how the city's intervention was directed at guaranteeing fair treatment for all, and especially at financial rectitude. As we shall see, many centuries later in the last inscribed decree of the Assembly on this topic, [17](#), there are distant echoes of this “democratic” tradition in regulating the Eleusinian Mysteries.

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<sup>134</sup> Hearth-initiate: also regulated by the fourth-century law (*I Eleus.* 138 A41-2). It is clear from C38-42 that the polis also sees to the initiation of orphans, though the detailed provisions cannot be reconstructed.



*Fig. 1.1. 1 g, Face A* © Trustees of the British Museum.



3. *The Inscriptions. 1 Regulations Concerning the Eleusinian Mysteries*



*Fig. 1.2. 1 g, Face B* © Trustees of the British Museum.

3. The Inscriptions. 1 Regulations Concerning the Eleusinian Mysteries



Fig. 1.3. 1 g, Face C © Trustees of the British Museum.

**2** DECREE ABOUT ERYTHRAI. BM 1816,0610.346, Elgin collection (on possible findspot see [sect. 1](#)). Fragment of white marble, back preserved (?), h. 0.385, w. 0.285, th. 0.18. Attic letters, including M with short right diagonal, angular B (“double pennant”) and P (“pennant”, tailless), theta = Θ, phi = Φ, some forward-leaning N, three-bar ⚡ (cf. [sect. 2.5](#)), h. 0.011-0.013, stoich. 0.018 (vert.), 0.0175-0.018 (hor.).

Major editions of *a*: *CIG* I 73 + Add. p. 890\*; *IG* I 10; Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 3 (*IG* I Suppl. p. 5, 10); *IG* I<sup>2</sup> 11; of *a-d* *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 15 (*a* after *ATL* II D10); Cataldi 1981b (cf. *SEG* 31.5); Cataldi 1983, 87-98 no. 4 (*a* and *d*, cf. *SEG* 34.5).

Cf. Moroo 2014, 97-119, at 100-101 no. 1c (ph.) (*SEG* 64.30). Autopsy and Pitt’s squeeze, Lambert 2019. Gallery 78, Classical Inscriptions. *Fig. 2*.

ca. 454-450 BC

	-----	
	[ - . . . . <sup>5</sup> . ] α χιλ[ι -----]	<b>a</b>
	[ - . . . . <sup>5</sup> . ] ον τριῶν -----	
	[ - . . . . <sup>5</sup> . ] ικον τῶν τε  -----	
	[ - . . . . <sup>5</sup> . ] ἐπισκόπος αὐτο -----	
20	[ - . . . . <sup>5</sup> . ] αιος καὶ τᾶλλα -----	
	[ - . . . . <sup>5</sup> . ] φ]ρόραρχον καθάπ[ερ -----]	
	[ - . . . . <sup>5</sup> . ] δ]ὲ μὲ ἔναι Ἐρυθρα[ίοις ? -----]	
	[ - . . . . <sup>5</sup> . ] ν μεδὲ τοχσοτα -----	
	[ - . . . . <sup>5</sup> . ] το]ῖς φροροῖς τρ -----	
25	[ - . . . . <sup>5</sup> . ] οι καὶ Ἐρυθρα[ι -----]	
	[ - . . . . <sup>5</sup> . ] ε ἔναντίον τ[. .]ρ -----	
	[ - . . . . <sup>5</sup> . ] δικά?]ζεται τοῖ Ἐρυ[θ]ρ[αίοι -----]	
	[ - . . . . <sup>5</sup> . ] Ἐρυθραῖος τοῖ -----	
	[ - . . . . <sup>5</sup> . ] δικά?]ζεν καταβαλλ -----	
30	[ - . . . . <sup>5</sup> . ] τῶν δὲ πρυτα[νείον ? -----]	
	[ - . . . . <sup>5</sup> . ] δι]κάζεν δὲ ἡ -----	
	[ - . . . . <sup>5</sup> . ] μενον χ -----	
	[ - . . . . <sup>5</sup> . ] κα]θάπερ -----	
	[ - . . . . <sup>6</sup> . ] ἔναι -----	
35	[ - . . . . <sup>7</sup> . ] ^ -----	

For ease of reference the line numbering used above follows *IG* I<sup>3</sup>, where the fragment is published together with three others (on which see below). Rest. Boeckh, 16 Lambert, 27 in. *ATL*, 29 in. Hicks, 30 *ATL* (τ]ὸν δὲ πρύτα[νιν Boeckh] || 18 δ]ικῶν Cataldi || 26 τ[ὸ φ]ρ[οράρχο *ATL* || 28 ἡ Ἐρυθραῖος τοῖ [Ἀθηναῖοι *ATL* || 31 ἡ[λ]ιαίαν or ἡ[λ]ιαστάς Boeckh || 32 [εἰρεμ]ένον or [νομιζόμ]ενον χ[ρόνον] Moroo.

... (16) ... thousand ... | ... three ... | ... of the ... | ... overseers ... | (20) ... and in other respects ... | ... garrison commander just as ... | ... it shall not be permitted for the Erythraians (?) ... | ... nor archers ... | ... the guards ... | (25) ... and Erythrai- ... | ... in the presence of ... | ... adjudicate for the Erythraian (?) ... | ... Erythraian(s?) to the



... | ... adjudicate, deposit- ... | (30) ... of the court fees (?) ... | ... adjudicate ... | ...  
just as ... | ... shall be ...

Erythrai was a large and wealthy Ionian city on the mainland of Asia Minor opposite Chios, and is likely to have joined the Delian League shortly after its foundation.<sup>135</sup> This is one of a number of related fragmentary inscriptions in which the Athenian Assembly is recorded as intervening in its affairs. The most substantial, *IG I<sup>3</sup> 14* = [OR 121](#), with its references to exiles and partisans of the Persians (26-28), “tyrants in Erythrai” (33), and probably “overseers” (*episkopoi*) (13-14), implies an Athenian imposed settlement of the city after a revolt, or at least civil strife (*stasis*). It provides for the Erythraians to bring grain to Athens at the Great Panathenaia for distribution to Erythraians present (2-8), makes provision for establishment of a democratic Council in Erythrai, including the councillors’ oath (8-29), for what is to happen if an Erythraian kills another Erythraian (29-32), and makes further provisions that are no longer intelligible. The stone is lost, and the text is known only from transcripts originating with copies made on the Athenian Acropolis in the late eighteenth century by Louis Sébastien Fauvel.<sup>136</sup> This makes it impossible to be certain whether the smaller surviving fragments belong to the same decree as [OR 121](#), to another decree on the same stone or to one or more separate inscriptions. The lettering on [OR 121](#) was apparently similar in style to that on **2**, including angular beta and rho (both tailed and tailless) and three-bar sigma, and what survives of our text suggests that it belongs in the same context, whether or not the two fragments are from the same decree. In l. 19 “overseers” (*episkopoi*) are mentioned, presumably the same as are referred to in [OR 121](#), 13-14;<sup>137</sup> the garrison-commander in l. 21 is also most likely the same garrison-commander referred to in [OR 121](#), 14 and 14-15; and the archers in l. 23 the same as those referred to in [OR 121](#), 42. The decree in [OR 121](#) might plausibly have included later sections making arrangements for the garrison (16-24) and regarding legal disputes (25-34<sup>138</sup>).

The other significant fragment in this group is *IG I<sup>3</sup> 15 d* (EM 6562), which contains the wording of an oath and a clause providing for the inscribing of it on a stele on the Athenian Acropolis and the Erythraian acropolis. This oath must be different from the one to be administered to the Erythraian Council in [OR 121](#); perhaps it was to be sworn by the Erythraian People as a whole, or by their representatives ratifying the whole agreement (though the surviving wording is an oath of loyalty to Athens, not one to uphold the agreement); or perhaps it is from a different inscription cut on a separate occasion. Fr. *d* is

<sup>135</sup> For a brief account of the history of the city see Rubinstein 2004, who notes (1074) that it is attested as paying between 7 tal. and 12 tal. tribute annually, a very high level for an Ionian city (compare the 1,000 dr. paid by Hestiaia, **3** below n. [147](#)).

<sup>136</sup> See Malouchou 2014 (*SEG* 64.30). Malouchou establishes that the text of [OR 121](#) was probably inscribed on a stele excavated in the Erechtheion in 1788 and 1789.

<sup>137</sup> Moroo, 100 with n. 11, points out that *episkopoi* seem usually to have been temporary officials. Cf. Ar. *Birds* 1022-52, Harp. E 113 s.v. *Episkopos*. Less clear at [5](#), l. 7.

<sup>138</sup> The provisions are too fragmentary to make sense of. As Moroo notes, 99 n. 10, the court fees probably referred to in l. 30 might be payable in Athens or in Erythrai.



compatible with **2** and is probably to be restored with the same line length as [OR 121](#) (47 letters).<sup>139</sup>

There is insufficient evidence to establish the precise date and historical context of the Athenian intervention(s) in Erythrai documented by these inscriptions. A context for [IG I<sup>3</sup> 14](#) = OR 121 is usually sought in the late 450s, following the failure of the Athenian campaign in Egypt,<sup>140</sup> but Moroo has recently suggested 435/4 BC. Letter-forms cannot be used to adjudicate conclusively between dates less than twenty years apart, but as far as can be judged by the latest full study of fifth-century Athenian lettering, Tracy 2016, the forms present on this inscription are more comfortable before ca. 450 BC than significantly later.<sup>141</sup>

In the early fourth century, Athens intervened again in Erythrai when the city was in a state of *stasis* ([RO 17](#), 387/6 BC?).<sup>142</sup> Erythrai also produced a substantial number of public inscriptions of its own in the Classical and early Hellenistic periods.<sup>143</sup> They include a tantalising inscription which made arrangements concerning the legal system and rights to participate in it. It is probably not very distant in date from our decree, though its provisions do not dovetail with the surviving fragments of the Athenian decrees such that we can determine which came first.<sup>144</sup> They also include an Erythraian decree honouring Konon with a statue after the battle of Knidos in 394 BC, i.e. in the same context as the Athenian decrees honouring Konon and Euagoras with statues (see **7** below).<sup>145</sup>

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<sup>139</sup> Of the other two fragments sometimes ascribed to the same inscription as [IG I<sup>3</sup> 15 a](#) and [d, IG I<sup>3</sup> 15 c](#) (EM 5192) is a tiny fragment preserving no complete word, and Moroo is rightly sceptical about [b](#) (EM 6563), whose lettering, punctuation and content (religious finance?) suggest it belongs to a different inscription quite possibly unrelated to Erythrai. The two fragments of [IG I<sup>3</sup> 16](#) (Ag. I 5172 a and b) have also been associated with this group. Fr. *b* is tiny; *a* mentions a Council and garrison commanders, but does not mention Erythrai (though it can, as I note in the edition on AIO, be restored to include a reference to Boutheia, Erythrai's small neighbour). An association with our group of fragments is possible, but uncertain.

<sup>140</sup> Thuc. 1.109-110. See OR's note.

<sup>141</sup> For example I note that significantly forward-leaning nus, of which there are examples in this fragment, do not occur on inscriptions dated by Tracy to after the early 440s, and on p. 217 Tracy includes the mu with short right stroke and phi = ⊕ as forms that "no one doubts . . . point to a date earlier than 450."

<sup>142</sup> In 366/5 BC Erythrai was the subject of a further fragmentarily preserved Athenian decree, [IG II<sup>2</sup> 108](#).

<sup>143</sup> See *IK Erythrai* and a forthcoming paper by Peter Liddel.

<sup>144</sup> *IK Erythrai* 2 = OR 122.

<sup>145</sup> *IK Erythrai* 6 = RO 8.



*Fig. 2. 2* © Trustees of the British Museum.

**3** DECREE ABOUT HESTIAIA. EM 6809 + 6572a (*ab*), EM 6572 (*c*), EM 6576 + 6573 (*df*), BM 1864,0220.23 (*e*), EM 13179 (*g*). *e* “brought from the Acropolis by Viscount Strangford” (cf. [sect. 1](#)), *a-d, f, g* also mostly found on Acropolis. Seven fragments of an opisthographic stele, *a-f* recognised by Meritt and Raubitschek as belonging to the same inscription, *ab* joined by Schweigert 1937 (ph.), *df* by McGregor 1982 (ph.). *ab* preserves right side and top (?), *f* right side (on reverse), *e* left side (on front), h. 0.46, w. 0.29, th. 0.135 (for dimensions of other fragments see *IG I<sup>3</sup>*). Attic lettering with  $\mathfrak{P}$ , and occasional forward-sloping nu (*pace IG I<sup>3</sup>* there is no 3-bar sigma in l. 46). Stoich. (McGregor) vert. front 0.0132-0.01375 (*a-d*), 0.014-0.015 (*e*), back 0.0172 (*d*), 0.018-0.020 (*e, f*), 0.015 (*g*), hor. front 0.0127-0.0145 (*a-e*), back 0.0109-0.0117 (*d, e, f, g*).

Major editions: *a IG I<sup>2</sup> 42 fr. c with Add. p. 302\**; *b IG I<sup>2</sup> 42 fr. a*; *c IG I<sup>2</sup> 42 fr. b* (*b + c IG I Suppl. p. 9, 25*); *d back IG I<sup>2</sup> 43*; *e CIG I Add. p. 893, 73 c* (cf. [sect. 1](#)); *IG I 28-29*; Hicks, *GIBM I no. 4 (IG I Suppl. p. 12, 28-29)*; *IG I<sup>2</sup> 40/41 with Add. p. 302*; *f IG I<sup>2</sup> 48*; *d front Schweigert, Hesp. 6, 1937, 321-22* (ph.); *a-f SEG 10.37*; *ATL III 301-2, n. 4*; *g Vanderpool, Hesp. 31, 1962, 399-401* (ph.); *a-g SEG 21.26*; *IG I<sup>3</sup> 41*; McGregor 1982; Cataldi 1983, 145-80 no. 6 (ph.) (without knowledge of McGregor’s edition) (*SEG 34.14*); C. Koch, *Volksbeschlüsse in Seebundangelegenheiten: das Verfahrensrecht Athens im ersten attischen Seebund* (1991), 170-207, T5 (text at 173-76, not reproduced at *SEG 42.24*).

Cf. H. Mattingly, *BCH 92, 1968, 476-77* (= 1996, 246-48); Pitt, autopsy and squeezes. In store. *Figs. 3.1, 3.2 (e)*.

446 BC or a little later (?)

**Face A (front)**

	----- -?	<b>ab</b>	stoich.
	----- . ε[. . .]		
	----- ον[. . .]		
	----- σθα[. . .]		
	----- Ἀ?]θενα[. . .]		
5	----- δὲ βοε[. . .]		
	----- ι χιλ[. . .]		
	----- σαι μερ[. . .]		
	----- δι?]αφερον[τ?]-		
	----- ηεστι?]αίαι : ho[. . .]		
10	----- α καὶ τὰ [.]		
	----- τονα[.]		
	----- τοδ[.]		
	----- δα[.]		
	----- ιδ[.]		
15	----- μ. [.]		
	----- ι. ι		
	----- τὰς δὲ πρ]άχσες .		
	----- ἐάν τις ἀμφι-		

- 20 [σβετῆι - - - - -] τὰς ἐχς ηεστ-  
[ιαίας - - - - -]αι : δορειὰν δ-  
- - - - - . α χρεμάτον  
- - - - - ι μεῖ λαττ[ο]-  
- - - - - ναι ἐπιφσε-  
25 [φι- - - - -]χ]συλλέφσε-  
[- - - - -]στ]έλεν : τὲν δ-  
[ἐ - - - - -]ναι κατὰ  
- - - - - οντον  
- - - - - δεμο .  
- - - - - ι .
- 30 [- - - - - . . . .<sup>8</sup> . . .]α[.]εν - - - - - **c**  
[- - - - - . . . .<sup>7</sup> . . .]ι το. Ἀθε[ναίον - - - - -]  
[- - - - - . . . .<sup>6</sup> . . .] τὰς ἄλλας δ[ί]κας? - - - - -]  
[- - - - - . . . χρ?]έματα ἐᾶι ἐπ- - - - -]  
[- - - - - . . . ἐ]γτελῆ (?) ἔναι με- - - - -]  
35 [- - - - - . ἐ]ν (?) τῇ κυρίαί ἐκ[κλεσίαι - - - - -]  
[- - - - -] δὲ χρεμάτον ἐσφο[ρ- - - - -]  
[- - - - - .]ν ἐὰμ μεῖ λειστῶν [- - - - -]  
[- - - - - . .] αὐτον ἀλλ[.]ε. - - - - -]  
[- - - - - . . . .<sup>5</sup> .] . . νιο- - - - -]
- 40 [. . . . .<sup>11</sup> . . . .]ΙΑ- - - - - **e**  
[. . . .<sup>6</sup> . . .] . ος ho ἐν[ι]- - - - -]  
[. . .] . σι δόχσας τὰς . - - - - -]  
[.] . οσι δοκεῖ ἐπὶ ἴσε[ι καὶ ἡμοίαι? - - - - -]  
[h]ὸ ἄν δοκεῖ αὐτοῖς μεδ- - - - -]  
45 [.]φσεται ἐπὶ τῇσι δίκε[σι - - - - -]  
[.] ho ἐχς ηεστιαίας ἐς τ[- - - - - ἐν]  
[h]εστιαίαι ἡόταμπερ τα[- - - - - ἐν h]-  
[ε]στιαίαι πρὸς ἀλλέλος [- - - - - ἐὰν δ]-  
[ἐ] μεῖ παρ[ὰ] τῆς βολῆς εὐρ- - - - -]  
50 [.]ασει[. . ἐ]λάννοντα με - - - - -]  
ἐ ἡίπ[ποις] ἐ] ὄνοις ἐ οἰσ[ι - - - - -]  
[.]ρας [ . . .<sup>5</sup> .]ε ho βολόμε[νος - - - - - ηεστ]-  
ίαια. [ . . .] λαμβανέτο τ[- - - - -]  
[.]το τῷ h[αυ]τῷ μέρος τε. - - - - - βουλευ or δικασ]-  
55 [τ]έριον ἡόταμπερ τὰς ἄ[λλας] δίκας? - - - - -]  
[.] δεμος ἐ ho ἄρχον ζεμ[ι- - - - -]  
[.] hoi Ἀθένεσιν γραφ. [- - - - - ἡόταμ?]-  
[π]ερ τὰς ἄλλας δίκας ε[- - - - - ἐκ X]-  
[α]λκίδος ἐς Ὀροπὸν πρ[άττεσθ- - - - - ἐὰν δ]-  
60 [ἐ] τις ἐχς Ὀροπὸ ἐς ηεστ[ία]ιαν - - - - - ἐ]-

ζ Ὀροπὸν πορθμεύει, πρ[απτέσθ- - - - - ἐὰν δ]-  
 ἐ τις ἐκ Χαλκίδος ἐς ἡε[στίαιαν - - - - - πραπ]-  
 ἔσθο τέτταρας ὀβολό[ς - - - - -]  
 [.] μὲν ἦοι πομπεύοντε[ς - - - - - πομπ?]-  
 65 [π?]εύεται, τελέτο τὸ ἡέ[μισυ - - - - -]  
 [ἐ]θέλει ἄγεν τὸν πο[μπεύοντα? - - - - - γεγ]-  
 [ρα]μμένα . επ- - - - -  
  
 [. . . . .<sup>12</sup>. . . . .]I- - - - - *d*  
 [. . . . .<sup>10</sup>. . . . .]. ε. . - - - - -  
 70 [. . . . .<sup>10</sup>. . . . .]. αμε- - - - -  
 [. . . . .<sup>11</sup>. . . . .]αζε- - - - -  
 [. . . . .<sup>11</sup>. . . . .]. v. - - - - -

This side of *f* not preserved

This side of *g* not inscribed

**Face B (back)**

This side of *a*, *b*, *c* not preserved

- - - - - βλ[ . ο hE/[. . .<sup>6</sup>. . . ] *e*  
 - - - - - ἐς τὸ δικαστέριον [. . . .]  
 75 - - - - - ο ἔχς Ἑστιάας ἐσάγει τα[. .]  
 - - - - - ν τοῖ αὐτοῖ μενὶ ἦοι ναυτοδ[ί]-  
 [και - - - - - τ]ὸ δικαστέριον παρεχόντων πλ-  
 [ἔρες - - - - - εὐ]θυνέσθο· ἡα δὲ πράχσες ὄντων  
 [- - - - - καθάπε]ρ Ἀθένεσι ἡα παρὰ τῶν δικαστ-  
 80 [ὄν - - - - - βι]αῖον or -]διον καὶ ἀδικεμάτων τὰς δίκ[α]-  
 [ς - - - - - ἡε πρ]οθεσμία ἐχσέκει· ἐὰν δέ τι[. .]  
 [- - - - - ] ἡο ἡαλὸς ἡεστιάας ἡεοσπε[ρ?]  
 [- - - - - ἡεπ?]τὰ ἄνδρας ἐκ τῶν οἰκόντων ἐ[ν]  
 [ἡεστιάαι - - - - - ] διδόναι τὰς εὐθύνας ἐν ἡεστ[ι]-  
 85 [αῖαι - - - - - ] βολεῖ? τῇ ἐν ἡεστιάαι διδόντο[ν .]  
 [- - - - - κατ]ὰ δέμος ἐν ἡεστιάαι τρ[ι]ς [. .]  
 [- - - - - ] δὲ τὸς αὐτὸς καὶ ἐν Δίο[ι καὶ ἐ]-  
 [ν - - - - - ἐν] Ἑλλοπία[ι ἡ]έτερον δικα[σ]τ[ι] .]  
 [- - - - - Ἑ]λλοπιοῖ[ . . ] ἐν Ἑλλοπίαι οἰ[κ]- or αἰ[.] or δί[κ]-  
 90 [- - - - - ] ἡο ἄρχο[ν] ἡο Ἀθένεσι δο[. . .]  
 [- - - - - ἐν ἡεστι]αῖαι κυαμευσάντων [. . .<sup>5</sup>. .]  
 [- - - - - ἡεστι]αῖαι καθότι ἂν τοῖ [. . .<sup>5</sup>. .]  
 [- - - - - ] ἐκ τῶν οἰκόντων ἐ[ν] or εὐ[. . .]

95 [- - - - -]εν δὲ τούτος τα[. . . .<sup>7</sup>. . .]  
 [- - - - -] τὰ δὲ ὑπὲρ δέ[κα δραχμ. ?]-  
 [- - - - -]β]ολὲν [. .]χο[. . . .<sup>10</sup>. . . .]

100 [- - - - -]τ]ὰς δίκ[ας . . . .<sup>8</sup>. . .] *df*  
 [- - - - -] . εἶται ἔ' ἀδ[ικ . . . .<sup>8</sup>. . .]  
 [- - - - -] τὰς δίκ[ας] ἔ' ναι πρ[ὸς ? . . .<sup>6</sup>. . .]  
 [- - - - -] ἰδνο]ς μενὸς κλε[τερ ? . . .<sup>7</sup>. . .]  
 [- - - - -] ἡ]εστιάας τ[. . . .<sup>10</sup>. . .]  
 [- - - - -]εἰ[. . . .<sup>11</sup>. . .]  
 [- - - - -]  
 105 [- - - - -] ἡ]ο ἄρχον Ἀθεν-  
 [- - - - -]ον ἐσαγογὲ ἐχ-  
 [- - - - -] ἡαι Ἀθ]ένεσιν ἀρχαῖ  
 [- - - - -]κ]ιον[. . .] . νο

110 [- - - - -]δ]ια [- - - - -] *g*  
 [- - - - -]βουλευ- or δικαστ]έριον ἡο[- - - - -]  
 [- - - - -]τ]ὸς δικαστ[ὰς - - - - -]  
 [- - - - -] .]και· τὰς δὲ δ[ίκας - - - - -]  
 [- - - - -] .]αι ἐσαγόντ[ον - - - - -]  
 [- - - - -] . .]ε ἐκτεῖσο[- - - - -]  
 [- - - - -] . .]χοντα ἐπ[- - - - -]  
 -----

*a* joins *b* and *d* joins *f*. Kirchhoff (*IG I Suppl.*) suggested that *c* was positioned to the left of *b* (aligning l. 1 of *c* with l. 17 of *ab*). McGregor 1982 (followed by Koch) supported this and thought the two fragments joined at the back. Lewis (*IG I<sup>3</sup>*) doubted it and Pitt confirms those doubts. Meritt and Lewis tentatively suggested that *d* joined the top of *e*, but this was contradicted by McGregor's demonstration that it joins *f*. Editors have restored the front with 36 letters to the line (Meritt, *ATL*, McGregor, Koch) or 39? (*IG I<sup>3</sup>*), the back, where the lettering is more crowded, with 48 letters (Meritt), 55? (*IG I<sup>3</sup>*), 44 (McGregor, Koch, who reworks ll. 75-96, and at p. 172 suggests that his restoration of l. 78 tends to support 44 letters). No fragment preserves the full width of the stone and none of the suggested restorations is so compelling that they justify inferring a particular line length. I accordingly omit the speculative restorations of complete lines in *e* printed by *IG I<sup>3</sup>*, McGregor 1982 and Koch. Otherwise, except as specified below, readings and restorations printed above are those on which *IG I<sup>3</sup>* and McGregor agree. 5 Ἀ]θεναι[ Schweigert || 34 ἐ]γτελῆ eds., or -γ τέλε ? Lambert, see below || 35 ἐ]γ McGregor || 41 -τος ἡο ἐλ[αυνόμενος Cataldi after Hiller in *IG I<sup>2</sup>* || 50 ἐ]λαύνοντα Pitt after Hiller (-αύνοντα *IG I<sup>3</sup>* and McGregor) || 52 -ρας McGregor, Pitt, -ραε *IG I<sup>3</sup>* || 60 ἡεστ[ίαιαν ἔ' ἐς Δῖον ἔ' ἐκεῖθεν *IG I<sup>3</sup>* || 77-78 πλ[ῆρες ἔ' χιλίαις δραχμῆσιν εὐ]θυνέθο *IG I<sup>3</sup>*, πλ[ῆρες ἔ' ἡέκαστος αὐτῶν εὐ]θυνέθο Koch || 81 τι[ς *IG I<sup>3</sup>*, McGregor, τι[με]θεῖ ἀργυρίο Koch || 83 ἡεπ]τὰ *IG I<sup>3</sup>*, McGregor, τριάκον]τα Koch after Hiller || 85

### 3. The Inscriptions. 3 Decree about Hestiaia

διδόντο[ν McGregor, Pitt, διδόντ[ας] IG I<sup>3</sup> || 89-90 *hoi 'E]λλόπιοι[ι hoi] ἐν 'Ελλοπίαι*  
*οἱ[κλῶντες IG I<sup>3</sup>, τῶν 'Ε]λλοπίου[τῶν] ἐν 'Ελλοπίαι αἱ[.] McGregor, δῖ[κ]ας δικάζέτο Koch ||*  
*90 δο- McGregor, Pitt, δ[ικαστ]ας IG I<sup>3</sup> || 98 βιάζ]εται ἔ ἀδ[ικεῖ Koch, ]εται ἔ ἀδ[- McGregor,*  
*εἰαιεαδ IG I<sup>3</sup> || 100 κλε[τερ- Lambert, cf. IG I<sup>3</sup> 68, ll. 48-49, IG I<sup>3</sup> 71, l. 39, κλε[σ- IG I<sup>3</sup> || 109 cf.*  
*ll. 54-55.*

#### *Front*

#### *Fragments ab*

*3 lines traces* | . . . Athen- (?) | (5) . . . | . . . thousand | . . . | . . . carry across *or* differ (?) | . .  
| . . . Hestiaia . . . | (10) . . . and the | *6 lines traces* | (17) . . . the exactions | . . . if anyone  
disputes | . . . those from Hestiaia | (20) . . . gift *or* grant | . . . of money | . . . not less than |  
| . . . [not permitted to?] put to the vote | . . . arrest | (25) . . . stele, and the . . . according | . .  
| . . . People (?) | . . .

#### *Fragment c*

(30) . . . | . . . Athenian . . . | . . . the other [lawsuits?] . . . | . . . leaves *or* permits money . . . |  
| . . . shall be complete *or* in good order (?) . . . | (35) . . . [in?] the principal Assembly . . . | .  
| . . . the levy of a capital tax (?) (*chrematon e(i)spho[r-]*) . . . | . . . so long as pirates do not . .  
| . . . them (?) . . . | . . .

#### *Fragment e*

(40) . . . | . . . the – in . . . | . . . the decisions (?) . . . | . . . are decided on a fair and equal  
basis (?) . . . | . . . whatever they decide not . . . | (45) . . . for the lawsuits (?) . . . | the –  
from Hestiaia to . . . in | Hestiaia whenever . . . in | Hestiaia among themselves (?) . . . but  
if | . . . do not [find?] - from the Council (?) | (50) . . . driving *or* rowing *or* marching . . . |  
whether for horses or donkeys or sheep . . . | . . . whoever wishes . . . | Hestiaia . . . is taken  
| . . . on his own behalf . . . Council chamber *or* jury-court | (55) whenever . . . the [other  
lawsuits?] . . . | the People (?) or the archon shall penalise *or* be penalised . . . | those who  
[lay writs?] at Athens . . . whenever (?) | . . . the other lawsuits . . . from | Chalkis to  
Oropos shall be charged . . . but if | (60) someone [transports - by ferry] from Oropos to  
Hestiaia . . . | transports - by ferry to Oropos, he shall be charged . . . but if | someone  
transports - by ferry from Chalkis to Hestiaia . . . | he shall be charged four obols . . . |  
those participating in a procession . . . [on the occasion of?] | (65) [the procession . . .?],  
shall pay half . . . | wishes *or* does not wish to convey the [participant in the procession?] .  
| . . . prescribed . . .

#### *Fragment d*

#### *5 lines traces*

#### *Fragment f*

#### *This side not preserved*

#### *Fragment g*



### 3. The Inscriptions. 3 Decree about Hestiaia

*This side not inscribed*

*Back*

*Fragments a, b, c*

*This side not preserved*

*Fragment e*

... | ... to the jury-court | (75) ... from Hestiaia introduces ... | ... in the same month the judges of maritime cases (*nautodikai*) | ... they shall fill the court | ... shall be liable at their accounting; exactions shall be | ... as they are at Athens in cases heard by the circuit judges | (80) ... lawsuits for cases of [violence] or injury | ... the statute of limitations has not expired; but if someone | ... the convicted shall be [held?] at Hestiaia until | ... seven (*or thirty?*) men from those living at Hestiaia | ... shall render their accounts in Hestiaia | (85) ... (let them?) render [accounts] to the [Council?] in Hestiaia | ... circuit [judges?] in Hestiaia three times | ... the same ones in Dion [and in] | ... in Ellopia another judge *or* court | ... Ellopians ... in Ellopia | (90) ... the archon *or* official at Athens ... | ... of those who have being allotted [to hold office in?] Hestiaia | ... in Hestiaia as it [is decided by] the ... | ... from those living [in?] ... | ... these men ... | (95) ... cases in excess of ten [drachmas?] | ... Council ...

*Fragments df*

... the lawsuits ... | ... or injur- ... | ... the lawsuits shall be conducted before the (?) ... | (100) ... the month of -, the summoners *or* summons-witnesses (?) ... | ... Hestiaia ... | ... | ... the archon *or* official [at?] Athens ... | (105) ... introduction ... | ... the offices at Athens ... | ...

*Fragment g*

... | ... Council-chamber *or* jury court ... | (110) ... the judges ... | ... and the lawsuits ... | ... let them introduce ... | ... pay the penalty ... | ...

Hestiaia was one of the four major cities of Euboea, located in the north of the island.<sup>146</sup> It was a tribute-paying member of the Delian League,<sup>147</sup> and with Chalkis and Eretria revolted against Athens in the aftermath of Athens' defeat at the battle of Koroneia in Boeotia in 447/6 BC.<sup>148</sup> The suppression of the revolt by an Athenian force under Pericles

<sup>146</sup> For a summary of the history of Hestiaia see Reber and Hansen 2004, 656-58, no. 372.

<sup>147</sup> Recorded in List 5 (450/49 BC), *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 263 col. IV l. 34 (amount not preserved, cf. Paarmann 2007, Part IIA, p. 22); List 6 (448/7 BC, 449/8 BC Paarmann), *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 264 col. III l. 6 (amount not preserved, Paarmann 2007, IIA, p. 25); List 7 (447/6 BC, *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 265 col. II l. 36, 60th for Athena of 16 dr. 4 ob., implying full tribute of 1,000 dr., Paarmann 2007, IIA, p. 26).

<sup>148</sup> This defeat marked the end of the brief period in which Athens had attempted to extend her control north of Attica to the territory of Boeotia, which traditionally enjoyed close relations with the cities of Euboea. On the revolt of Euboea in 446 see [Lambert 2017](#), 15-17. *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 40 is usually taken as a record of the measures taken by Athens to settle the revolt of Chalkis on this occasion (but see further below).

is described by Thucydides in a single sentence: “And the Athenians . . . subdued the whole of it [Euboea], and settled the rest by agreement, but expelled the Hestiaians, occupying their land themselves”.<sup>149</sup> Additional details are supplied by later authors, the most important being Strabo, who reports that the fourth-century historian Theopompos of Chios “says that when Pericles was overpowering Euboea, the Hestiaians by agreement moved to Macedonia, and that two thousand Athenians came to settle Oreon, which had previously been a deme of Hestiaia.”<sup>150</sup> This seems to reflect a tradition that the alternative name by which Hestiaia was known, Oreos, originates in the circumstances of the revolt, though our inscription uses the name Hestiaia throughout and the two names seem later to occur interchangeably, including after the Athenian colonists had been sent back to Athens following Athens’ defeat in the Peloponnesian War.<sup>151</sup> Plutarch’s *Life of Pericles* reports that the removal of the Hestiaian population in 446 was occasioned by their having captured an Athenian ship and killed the men in it.<sup>152</sup> Be that as it may, there are hints that Hestiaia may not have been a democratic city before the revolt – at least, there was *stasis* at some point between democratic and oligarchic factions; and this might have made its leaders (or some of them) less amenable than Chalkis and Eretria to remaining within the Athenian orbit.<sup>153</sup> Thucydides records that in 415 BC a contingent of the Athenian colonists in Hestiaia joined the Sicilian expedition,<sup>154</sup> and unsurprisingly Hestiaia did not join the other Euboean cities in defecting from Athens in 411 BC.<sup>155</sup>

This inscription is usually taken to be a record of the arrangements made by Athens for its colony in 446 BC. This clearly covered in some detail legal arrangements as well as practical matters relating to “horses, donkeys and sheep” (51) and charges to be levied on the ferry that plied between Oropos (the territory bordering Attica to the north-east and Athenian-controlled at this period<sup>156</sup>), Hestiaia and Chalkis (58-63, cf. 8?; half-fare was apparently to be charged for transport connected with a religious procession, 64-67). This was an important communications link between the coastal cities of Euboea and

<sup>149</sup> καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι . . . κατεστρέψαντο πᾶσαν, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἄλλην ὁμολογία κατεστήσαντο, Ἑστιαίᾳ δὲ ἐξοικίσαντες αὐτοὶ τὴν γῆν ἔσχον. Thuc. 1.114.3.

<sup>150</sup> Θεόπομπος δὲ φησι Περικλέους χειρουμένου Εὐβοίαν τοὺς Ἰστιαεῖς καθ’ ὁμολογίας εἰς Μακεδονίαν μεταστῆναι δισχιλίους δ’ ἐξ Ἀθηναίων ἐλθόντας τὸν Ὠρεὸν οἰκῆσαι, δῆμον ὄντα πρότερον τῶν Ἰστιαίων. Strabo C445 10.1.3 = *FGrH* 115 Theopompos F 387 (cf. W. R. Connor, *Theopompus and Fifth-Century Athens*, 1968, 44-45). Diodoros 12.22.2 puts the number of Athenian settlers at one thousand: “sending out a thousand settlers, they apportioned both the city and its territory” (χιλίους δὲ οἰκήτορας ἐκπέμψαντες τὴν τε πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν κατεκλήρουχσαν).

<sup>151</sup> Plut. *Lys.* 13.3. Reber and Hansen 2004, 657, note that at that point Hestiaia was probably returned to the original citizens who had been expelled in 446.

<sup>152</sup> Plut. *Per.* 23. Cf. [Lambert 2017](#), p. 15.

<sup>153</sup> Arist. *Pol.* 1303b 31-37 records a dispute between two brothers of the Hestiaian ruling class (*gnorimoi*) resulting in a *stasis* in which one brother supported the wealthy (*euporoi*), the other the democratic faction (*demotikoi*). Cf. Reber and Hansen 2004, 657.

<sup>154</sup> Thuc. 7.57.2.

<sup>155</sup> Thuc. 8.95.7; *Ath. Pol.* 33.1.

<sup>156</sup> Thuc. 2.23.3. Cf. Hansen 2004, 448-49.

the mainland.<sup>157</sup> It is unclear whether Athenian control (or the assertion of it) was new, or a re-establishment of earlier arrangements that had been interrupted by recent events. In any case, though the fragmentary nature of the text makes the precise details and purpose of the arrangements unclear, the measure is in general terms quite comprehensible in the circumstances of 446 BC, the withdrawal from Boeotia, the settlement of the Euboean revolt, and the establishment of the Athenian colony in Hestiaia. Athens was seeking to exercise a measure of control over the communications between three interconnected places outside Attica which had been implicated in the recent disruptions; and no doubt also seeking to facilitate transit and communication between Athenians and pro-Athenian elements in those places, including perhaps with the objective of facilitating intervention by the Athenian colonists in Hestiaia in case of future trouble.<sup>158</sup>

Although the first firm evidence for the actual levy of the occasional capital tax, the *eisphora* (36), on Athenian citizens dates to 428/7 BC (see further below), this decree seems to have made arrangements for such a tax,<sup>159</sup> perhaps connected in some way with provisions in case of depredations by pirates (37). 43-58 apparently deal with litigation and whether particular cases should be heard at Athens or in Hestiaia;<sup>160</sup> and 74-85 appear to make provisions for legal processes at Athens. The *nautodikai*, 76, presided over a sparsely attested Athenian court which adjudicated trade-related disputes and (probably

<sup>157</sup> Our text is usually interpreted as specifying a personal fare for an individual passenger, but the reality of ferry traffic was surely more complex than this (e.g. with or without animals, cargoes etc.) and I note that πορθμεύω usually (perhaps invariably) has transitive sense (see *LSJ*; *LSJ* Suppl. cites only this passage as an exception). We may, therefore, have to do here with fares specified for ferrying something or someone specific.

<sup>158</sup> Constantakopoulou 2007, 222-26, discusses this provision in the context of other evidence for the importance of ferries in maintaining the connectivity of the Aegean islands, and of the islands with the mainland. Moreno 2007, 115-16, notes the likely use of this ferry in the context of the mass evacuation of flocks and beasts of burden from Attica “to Euboea and the nearby islands” in 431 BC recorded by Thucydides 2.14. Less attractive is his suggestion that the half-fare provision related not to participants in a religious procession (the usual meaning of the verb πορπτεύω), but to shipments of grain (not within the semantic range of that verb).

<sup>159</sup> For these provisions cf. the decree of 426/5 BC relating to Miletos, *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 21, l. 56, which uses a similar phrase, περὶ τῶν χρημάτων τῆς ἐσφορᾶς, “concerning the bringing in or raising of money” (date: Tracy 2016, 32-34). This similarity of expression in a text from after 428/7 BC goes against the suggestion of Fawcett 2016, 155-56, that *eisphora* is used in our inscription in a non-technical sense. One might also think of articulating l. 34 to yield a reference to taxes, -ν τέλεῃναι με- (cf. e.g. *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 1, l. 3; *RO* 18, l. 23). The conventional articulation, ἐ]ντελῆ ἔναι με-, however, is at least as possible, though ἐντελής, “complete”, has a wide semantic range and without the accompanying noun the precise sense here is impossible to pin down: perhaps “in good condition” (of military or naval equipment, Thuc. 6.45, Aeschin. 2.175), or “complete”, “in full”, of a payment (cf. *5*, l. 21). Compare the provisions of the earlier Athenian decree regulating the Athenian cleruchy on Salamis, *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 1: “at [Athens] they shall pay taxes and do military service” (2-3) . . . “shall provide weapons” (9).

<sup>160</sup> Ll. 53-54 may have contained a reference to court fees (*prytaneia*). A law cited by Demosthenes 43.71 specifies that they are to be deposited by a plaintiff on his own behalf: πρυτανεῖα δὲ τιθέτω ὁ διώκων τοῦ αὐτοῦ μέρους. Cf. Pollux 8.38; *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 4, l. 7, with AIO’s notes; *2*, l. 30.

not relevant here) contested claims to citizenship.<sup>161</sup> At 80-84 provision seems to be made for cases of violence, with reference to a “statute of limitations”<sup>162</sup> and the detention of a lawbreaker at Hestiaia.<sup>163</sup> Herodotos implies that in 480 BC the territory of Hestiaia comprised a number of villages along the coast;<sup>164</sup> and in Hellenistic inscriptions some thirty Hestiaian demes are attested.<sup>165</sup> 79 and 86 seem to refer to arrangements at Hestiaia which parallel those for “circuit judges” (*dikastai kata demous*) at Athens,<sup>166</sup> possibly involving the [seven?] men resident at Hestiaia referred to in 83-84. At 86-89 it seems that provisions are made for cases to be heard three times (a year?) in Hestiaia, and for separate hearings in Dion and Ellopia, dependencies of Hestiaia.<sup>167</sup> 90-95 seem to make further provisions relating to personnel involved in hearings. 10 drachmas was a common limit on the value of cases that could be determined by officials on their own authority, without reference to a jury court, and is plausibly specified in 95, perhaps as a limit on what could be decided by the Hestiaian “circuit judges”.<sup>168</sup> Attempts to pin down the detail more closely run up against the fragmentary state of the text. It would seem from 85 that officials of the colony are to be accountable to the Council in Hestiaia. It is quite likely that the same Council is referred to at 49 and 96, and its meeting place (or possibly a jury-court) in 54 and 109. It is difficult, however, to be certain whether the reference to “the principal Assembly” is to the Assembly at Athens or an Assembly of the colonists at Hestiaia, whether “the archon” (56) refers to a Hestiaian official or, as apparently at 90 and 104, an Athenian one, and whether the jury-court (*dikasterion*) in 74 is an Athenian court or a Hestiaian one.<sup>169</sup>

Koch aptly remarks on the ad hoc nature of the provisions in this decree, which seems to make specific legal provisions to suit a specific situation rather than applying some general system applicable to allied cities, or indeed to colonies, as a whole.<sup>170</sup> He also emphasises that the decree demonstrates a commitment to regulating the affairs of the remaining “native” population by due legal process.<sup>171</sup> However, there is very little in unrestored sections of this decree that requires it to be referring to such a “native”

<sup>161</sup> Lys. 17.4 seems to refer to them deciding a case relating to maritime trade. For their jurisdiction in cases of disputed citizenship claims see e.g. *FGrH* 342 Krateros F 4, discussed by D. Erdas, *Cratero II Macedone. Testimonianze e Frammenti* (2002), 82-101.

<sup>162</sup> Cf. Dem. 43.16, which cites a law in inheritance cases applying certain provisions ὥτι ἂν ἡ προθεσμία μήπω ἐξήκη, “provided that the statute of limitations has not expired” (5 years). See also Dem. 38.17, 27; 33, 27-28; Isai. 3.58, cf. I. Giannadaki, *Dike* 17, 2014, 15-33.

<sup>163</sup> Cf. Dem. 21.47 for detention in cases of *hybris*.

<sup>164</sup> Hdt. 8.23.2.

<sup>165</sup> Reber and Hansen 2004, 656.

<sup>166</sup> The *dikastai kata demous* had been reintroduced at Athens in 453/2 BC, *Ath. Pol.* 26.3, cf. [IG I<sup>3</sup> 2](#) with AIO’s notes.

<sup>167</sup> Dion: at cape Kenaion, Strabo 10.1.5 C446, cf. Reber and Hansen 2004, 650-51 no. 368. Ellopia: “a place in the area of the Hestaiotis called Oria, at the foot of Mt. Telethron” (χωρίον ἐν τῇ Ὠρίᾳ καλουμένη τῆς Ἰσταιώτιδος πρὸς τῷ Τελεθρίῳ ὄρει), Strabo 10.1.3 C445.

<sup>168</sup> [RO 25](#), 23-26; *Ath. Pol.* 52.3; 53.2.

<sup>169</sup> These issues are discussed in detail by Koch, 181-206, but on the basis of a more fully restored text than I would support.

<sup>170</sup> Koch, 207.

<sup>171</sup> Koch, 206-7.

population, and what references there may be (as perhaps in respect of the outlying settlements) do not suggest anything other than that they are to be subject to legal processes conducted entirely by Athenians.

On the basis of a very brief reference to an Athenian campaign against Euboea in 424/3 BC in a fragment of the fourth/third-century Athenian historian, Philochoros,<sup>172</sup> Mattingly argued that [IG I<sup>3</sup> 40](#), the decree providing for the settlement of Chalkis which has conventionally been dated to the aftermath of the revolt of 446 BC, belongs rather in the context of that campaign. Neither Osborne and Rhodes in their recent edition of the decree ([OR 131](#)) nor I ([Lambert 2017](#)) found the case for downdating that decree compelling, though I also noted that no conclusive arguments have yet been made on either side.<sup>173</sup> In 1968 Mattingly also argued that our decree belonged in the context of the campaign of 424/3 BC. He thought the reference to *eisphora* at l. 36 suggested that the decree postdated the introduction of *eisphora* in 428/7; that the letter forms are inconclusive as to the date of the decree; and that the anxiety about pirates apparent in l. 37 suggests a wartime context.<sup>174</sup> Some of the letter forms are “conservative” (e.g. tailed rho and occasional forward-sloping nu), but no-one would now seek to defend an argument that they definitely rule out a date as late as the 420s.<sup>175</sup> On the other hand, piracy was patently a perennial concern in this region, and, though Thucydides states that in 428/7 BC the Athenians first levied on themselves an *eisphora* of 200 tal., this does not necessarily mean that this was the first time that any *eisphora* was contemplated, at Athens or in an Athenian settlement.<sup>176</sup> More importantly the character of our decree is suggestive of arrangements for a new settlement, and it is not easy to see how, whatever the nature of the campaign in 424/3 BC, it could have produced a situation in Hestiaia which required such measures de novo. No source claims that the Athenians resettled Hestiaia afresh in the 420s, and that would be surprising just twenty years after the

<sup>172</sup> *FGrH* 328 Philochoros F 130.

<sup>173</sup> For further inconclusive argumentation for the later date see J. D. Sosin, *TAPA* 144, 2014, 263-306 (*SEG* 64.33).

<sup>174</sup> Mattingly compared for example Athens’ raid on the Lokrian coast in 431 in the interests of the security of Euboea, Thuc. 2.26, and the garrison established a little later on the island of Atalante to control the pirate threat, Thuc. 2.32.

<sup>175</sup> On dating of 5<sup>th</sup>-cent. decrees by letter forms see [sect. 2.5](#).

<sup>176</sup> “. . . καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐσενεγκόντες τότε πρῶτον ἐσφορὰν διακόσια τάλαντα, ἐξέπεμψαν καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἀργυρολόγους ναῦς . . .”, Thuc. 3.19.1. Rhodes 1994, 193 (see also Fawcett 2016, 156-57), identifies three possible interpretations: (a) that this was the first time an *eisphora* was levied; (b) that it was the first time during the Peloponnesian War that an *eisphora* was levied; (c) that it was the first time that an *eisphora* of as much as 200 tal. was levied. (a) seems the most natural reading, but (b) or even (c) are not impossible. It is also possible that our provision envisaged the colonists raising their own *eisphora*, not contributing to an Athenian one. Note also that [IG I<sup>3</sup> 52](#) = OR 144, B17, perhaps of 434/3 BC (though later dates have been suggested, cf. Fawcett 2016, 157), envisages the possibility of an *eisphora*, without necessarily implying that one had been levied before that date. Reference to *eisphora* has even been suspected as far back as the decree making arrangements for the cleruchy on Salamis, [IG I<sup>3</sup> 1](#), 3 (508-500 BC?) with AIO’s notes, cf. H. van Wees, *Ships and Silver. Taxes and Tribute: a Fiscal History of Archaic Athens* (2013), 92. For taxation provisions of a rather different (obscure) character made in respect of Chalkis in (probably) the same historical context as our decree, see [IG I<sup>3</sup> 40](#), 52-57.



### 3. The Inscriptions. 3 Decree about Hestiaia

settlement of 446 BC attested in the literary evidence. Moreover, as a colony consisting of Athenians, Hestiaia remained loyal to Athens in 411 BC; for the same reason she is unlikely to have revolted in the 420s BC. In the current state of evidence and debate a date for our decree in or shortly after 446 BC, in the context of the establishment of the Athenian settlement of Hestiaia, still seems the most likely.<sup>177</sup>



Fig. 3.1. 3 e, Front © Trustees of the British Museum.

<sup>177</sup> Koch, 171, takes a similar view, though without reference to Mattingly.

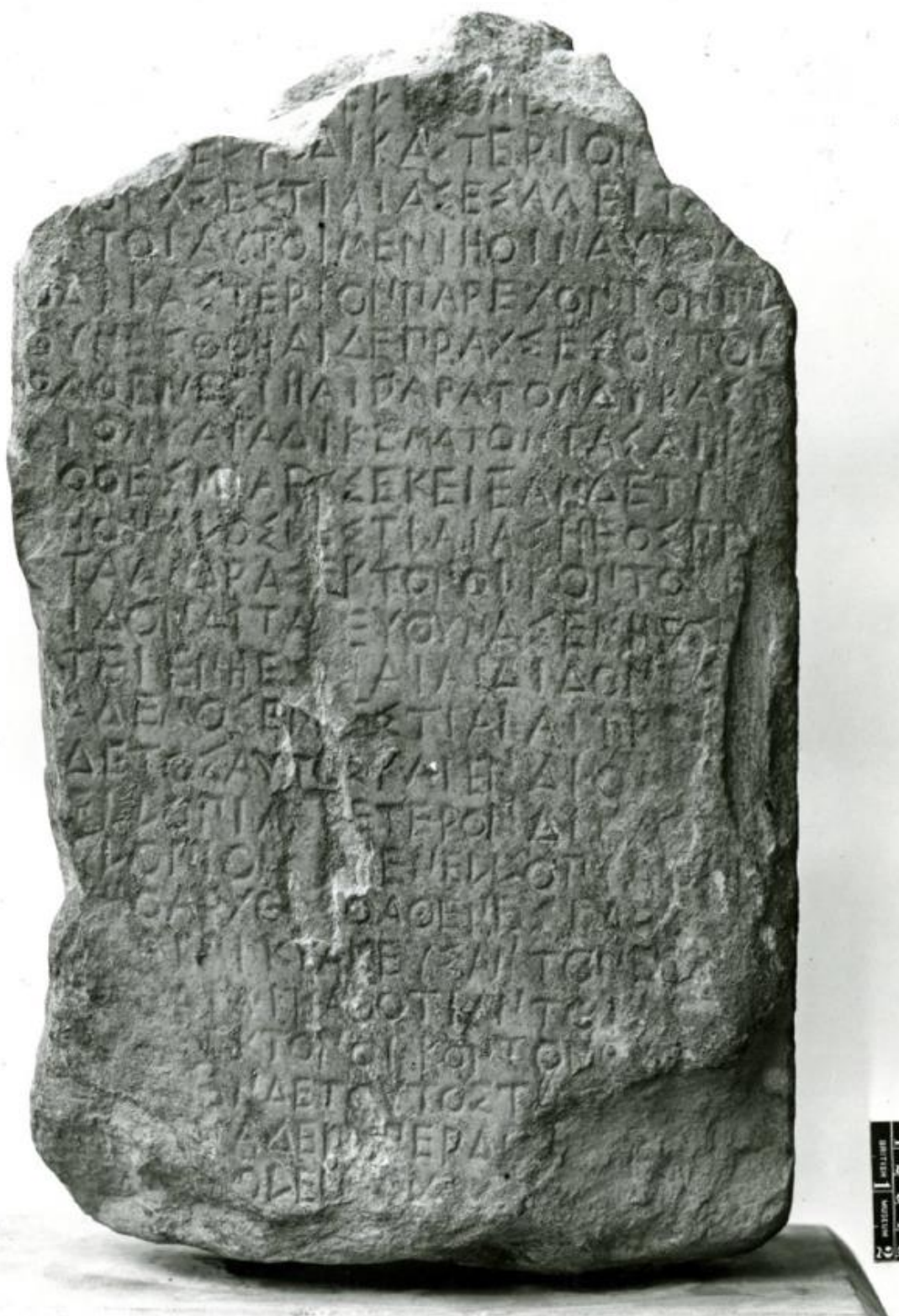


Fig. 3.2. 3 e, Back © Trustees of the British Museum.



**4** DECREE ABOUT TREATY WITH RHEGION. BM 1816,0610.206, Elgin collection (cf. [sect. 1](#)). Fragment of a stele of white marble, top, semi-smoothed back and right side preserved, h. 0.318, w. 0.228, th. 0.092. Developed Attic lettering (cf. [sect. 2.5](#)), ll. 1-8 (inscribed over an erasure), h. 0.013, stoich. vert. 0.0176-0.018, hor. 0.0138, ll. 9-15, h. 0.013, stoich. vert. 0.023, hor. 0.0140-0.0143.

Eds. *CIG* I 74 + Add. p. 896\*; *IG* I 33; Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 5 (*IG* I Suppl. p. 13, 33); *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 71; *IG* I<sup>2</sup> 51; B. D. Meritt, *CQ* 40, 1946, 85-91; *SdA* II 162; ML 63; *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 53; OR 149A.

Cf. H. B. Mattingly, *Historia* 12, 1963, 272 [= 1996, 105]; *Annali ist. ital. num. Supp.* vols. 12-14, 1969, 207-9 [= 1996, 266-68]; E. Ruschenbusch, *ZPE* 19, 1975, 225-32; D. M. Lewis, *ZPE* 22, 1976, 223-25. Autopsy, Pitt's squeeze, Lambert 2019. Gallery 78, Classical Inscriptions. *Fig.* 4.

433/2 BC	[θεοί· πρέσβες ἐκ Ῥεγίο]οὶ τὸν χσυμμαχίαν stoich. 34 [ἐποέσαντο καὶ τὸν ἡόρκ]ον, Κλέανδρος Χσεν- [. . . . . <sup>19</sup> . . . . .]τίνο, Σιλενὸς Φόκο, [. . . . . <sup>15</sup> . . . . .]ἐπ' Ἀφ]σεύδος ἄρχοντος (433/2) κ-
5	[αὶ τῆς βολῆς ἡῖ Κριτιά]δες πρῶτος ἐγγραμμ- [άτευε. <sup>vv</sup> ἔδοχσεν τῇ βο]λῇ καὶ τῷ δέμοι· Ἀ- [καμαντὶς ἐπρυτάνευε, Χ]αρίας ἐγγραμμάτευ- [ε, Τιμόχσενος ἐπεστάτ]ε, Καλλί- vac. 10 [ας εἶπε· χσυμμαχίαν εἶν]αι Ἀθηναίοις καὶ stoich. 33
10	[Ῥεγίνοις· τὸν δὲ ἡόρκο]ν ὁμοσάντων Ἀθηνα- [ῖοι ἵνα εἰ ἡαπάντα πι]στὰ καὶ ἄδολα καὶ ἡ- [απλᾶ παρ' Ἀθηναίων ἐς αἰ]δὶον Ῥεγίνοις, κα- [τὰ τὰδε ὁμνύντες· χσύμ]μαχοι ἐσόμεθα πισ- [τοὶ καὶ δίκαιοι καὶ ἰσ]χυροὶ καὶ ἀβλαβῆς
15	[ἐς αἰδὶον Ῥεγίνοις, καὶ] ὀφελέσομεν ἐ[άν τ]- [ο δέονται - - - - -]

Ll. 1-8 are inscribed in an erasure. The text of those lines is restored from [IG I<sup>3</sup> 54](#), which also contains a re-inscribed (better preserved) prescript, dating to the same day. 10-16 rest. Meritt.

[Gods.] Envoys from Rhegion who made the | alliance and the oath, Kleandros son of Xen- | - son of -tinis, Silenos son of Phokos, | [- son of -]. In the archonship of Apseudes (433/2) | (5) and under the Council for which Kritiades was first | secretary.<sup>178</sup> The Council and People decided. | Akamantis was the prytany. Charias was secretary. | Timoxenos was chairman. Kallias | proposed: there shall be an alliance between the Athenians and | (10) the Rhegians. The Athenians shall swear the oath | [in order that everything may be] in good faith and without deceit and | [straightforward on the part of the Athenians] for all time towards the | Rhegians, [swearing as follows]: “we shall be

<sup>178</sup> At this period there was a different secretary of the Council in each prytany. Kritiades was the secretary for the first prytany of the Council's year. Cf. [sect. 2.3](#).

faithful allies, | [just] and strong and unharmful | (15) [for all time to the Rhegians, and] we shall oblige them if they | [need anything]” . . .

Rhegion was a Greek city on the western side of the toe of Italy, opposite Sicily, which had traditionally been founded by Chalkis, together with a contingent of Messenians, in the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>179</sup> It features for the first time in the literary evidence in connection with Athens in 427 BC, during the early stages of the Peloponnesian War, when Leontinoi, a Sicilian city a little north of Syracuse (and traditionally founded by Sicilian Naxos, which itself had been founded by Chalkis), and its allies, including Rhegion, asked Athens to intervene in a conflict between them and Syracuse and its local allies, who were aligned with Sparta.<sup>180</sup> According to Thucydides, among Athens’ reasons for accepting the appeal of Leontinoi and her allies were a desire to interfere with the Peloponnesian supply of grain from this region, and to assess the potential for bringing Sicily under Athenian control, thus foreshadowing Athens’ major expedition to Sicily in 415 BC, which was to end in disaster. Leontinoi and her allies appealed to Athens on that occasion “in accordance with an old alliance”,<sup>181</sup> and because they were Ionians. It seems that our inscription and [IG I<sup>3</sup> 54](#) = OR 149B, a similarly worded Athenian alliance with Leontinoi, were, or at least reflected, that “old” alliance, or components of it. We learn from these two inscriptions that the two alliances had been renewed in 433/2 BC. Rather than inscribe the treaties afresh on that occasion, the old prescripts were replaced with new ones, dating to the time of the renewal, the same day for both inscriptions.<sup>182</sup> Though the renewals of 433/2 are not mentioned by Thucydides or any other literary source, the timing suggests that they may have been connected with Athens’ alliance that year with Corcyra, one of the contributory causes of the Peloponnesian War.<sup>183</sup> Thucydides remarks on Corcyra’s convenient position for voyages between Athens and the west.<sup>184</sup> The occasion of the original alliances inscribed on our stones is also undocumented, though other Athenian engagements with the region are attested in the 440s BC, including leading the foundation of Thurii in 444/3 BC.<sup>185</sup>

Because the letters in the reinscribed part of our inscription have been thickened by water erosion, especially in the top lines, it is difficult to be certain whether the hand is different, but the letter-forms of the original text do not differ significantly from those in

<sup>179</sup> For a brief history of the city see Fischer-Hansen et al. 2004.

<sup>180</sup> Thuc. 3.86.

<sup>181</sup> Thuc. 3.86.3: ἐς οὖν τὰς Ἀθήνας πέμψαντες οἱ τῶν Λεοντίνων ξύμμαχοι κατὰ τε παλαιὰν ξυμμαχίαν καὶ ὅτι Ἴωνες ἦσαν.

<sup>182</sup> Mattingly suggests that the alliances were first made in 433/2 BC and reaffirmed on a later occasion, making the point that the archon was not usually named in decree prescripts before ca. 421 BC (cf. [IG I<sup>3</sup> 82](#), and above [sect. 2.3](#)). An alliance first made in 433/2 BC, however, would scarcely qualify as “old” in 427; and it is difficult to see why, if the treaties were first made in 433/2 BC, original prescripts should have been replaced with prescripts dating to the same year. Note also that [IG I<sup>3</sup> 4](#) is dated by the name of the archon of 485/4 BC. The naming of the archon in this case was perhaps occasioned by the explicit redating of an old inscription.

<sup>183</sup> Cf. [OR 148](#).

<sup>184</sup> Thuc. 1.44.3, cf. 1.36.2.

<sup>185</sup> Cf. OR’s note to [149](#) and OR 140 with notes.

the reinscribed prescript. In both parts the lettering is standard for the second half of the fifth century. The writing on the original part of the Leontinoi treaty has one or two “earlier” features. In particular the two right strokes of some of the nus do not extend very far down the stoichos, and the right “vertical” is at an oblique angle, but such minor variations are not significant for dating, and it is quite possible that the original treaties with Rhegion and Leontinoi were both cut at the same time, most likely in the 440s BC.

This phenomenon of reinscribing the prescript of an existing alliance to express its renewal is a remarkable one, and is best understood in the context of a tendency to ascribe to inscriptions a stronger sense of agency than we are familiar with in the modern West. This is apparent among other things in the phenomenon of “speaking stones” (as “I am the boundary of the Agora”<sup>186</sup>) and in the conflation of the (to our minds abstract) thing inscribed, in this case an international agreement, with the physical object on which it is inscribed, so that, for example, destroying a stele on which a treaty is inscribed is not only symbolic of or consequential on, the breaking of a treaty, it actually is the breaking of the treaty.<sup>187</sup> Against the background of this kind of thinking about inscriptions, it is unsurprising that the decision to renew a treaty should have resulted in the stele on which it is inscribed being “updated” in this rather literal way: inscribing a stele with an agreement on it “makes” the agreement; destroying a stele with an agreement on it “unmakes” the agreement. In this case the substance of the old agreement is literally maintained unchanged, and the idea of “renewal” is expressed by simply rewriting the prescript to reflect the circumstances of renewal, naming the responsible envoys from Rhegium (1-4<sup>188</sup>), the eponymous archon (an unusual feature at this time, 4), the details of the Council which had made the *probouleuma* for the renewal (4-6), the resolution formula of Council and Assembly (6), and the details of the secretary, the prytany and its chairman under whom the renewal was made, and the proposer of the renewal, one Kallias (6-8).<sup>189</sup>

<sup>186</sup> *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 1087, 1088, 1089.

<sup>187</sup> Thus, for example, [RO 39](#), ll. 30-35 (363/2 BC), with reference to the destruction by rebels of stelai containing agreements between Athens and the cities of Keos; *FGrH* 328 Philochoros F 55, of Athens’ declaration of war on Philip II in 340/39 BC: “The People ... voted to destroy the stele concerning the Peace with Philip, and establishing an alliance, to fill the ships and to prosecute hostilities”; Dem. 20.37, discussing, in 355/4 BC, the stelai recording honours awarded to the rulers of the Bosporan kingdom, assimilates them to an agreement (*synthekai*) which threatens to be undermined by the law proposed by Leptines: “Leukon, in adhering to them, will be seen forever to be treating you well, whereas you, while they were still standing, have made them invalid, which is much more terrible than destroying them, because for those wishing to slander the city, these stelai will stand as proof (*tekmerion*) that they speak the truth”. For more detailed discussion of this phenomenon see *IALD* II, 26, 34, 37, 57-60, 79; and cf. below on [8](#) and [10](#).

<sup>188</sup> One of the envoys from Rhegium, Silenos, died at Athens and was commemorated by a monument in the Kerameikos inscribed with a four-line epigram in which he is described as “coming hither from his fatherland for an alliance” (ἐλθόντ’ ἐκ πατράς δεῦρ’ ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν), *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 1178 = *CEG* I 12.

<sup>189</sup> Same proposer as [IG I<sup>3</sup> 54](#) = OR 149B. The name is common and he cannot be identified. The name of the proposer of the original decree also seems to have had a name in –as, and might have been the same man. On decree prescripts see [sects. 2.3, 2.4](#).

If, what is not certain, the heading *theoi*, “Gods”, was included in the original prescript of our decree, it will have been one of the earliest occurrences of this heading in Athenian public epigraphy. The heading first occurs in the 440s BC,<sup>190</sup> shortly before the earliest document reliefs, which also typically depict divine figures. In Mack’s recent analysis, it is to be understood, like the divine figures represented on document reliefs, as “presenting the gods as active agents” in the public acts recorded in the inscriptions below.<sup>191</sup> In the case of treaties such as this one, the key aspect of that divine agency was perhaps that of guaranteeing the oaths which the treaty specifies and which bound the parties to adhere to its provisions.<sup>192</sup>

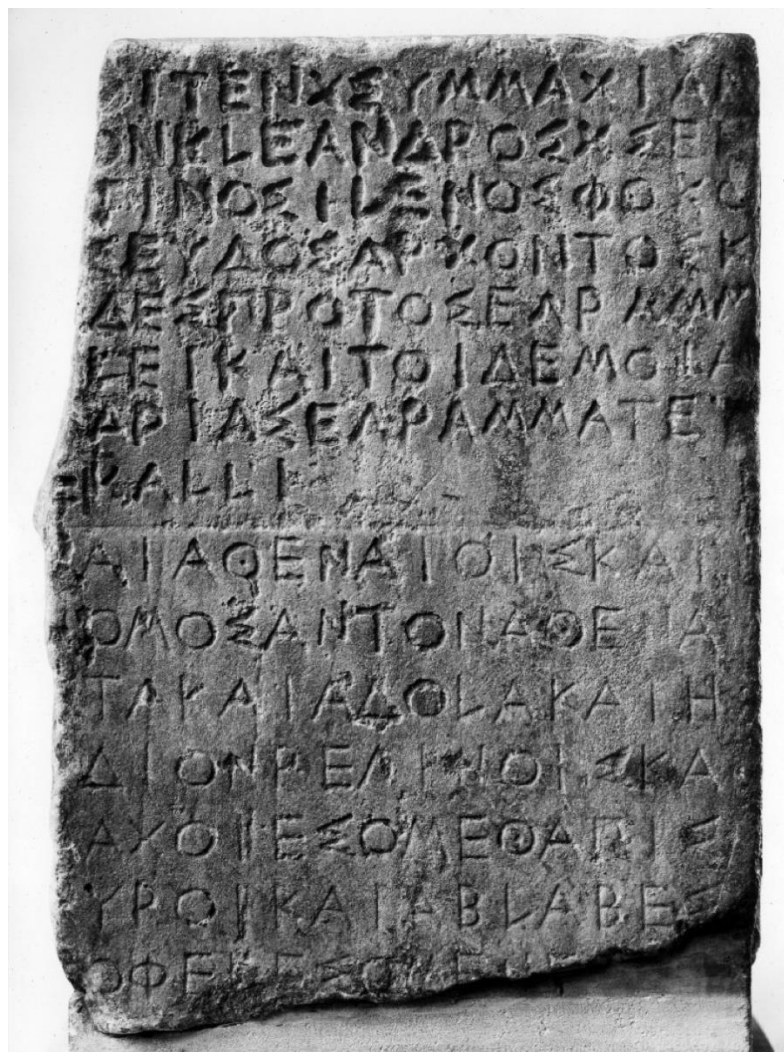


Fig. 4. 4 © Trustees of the British Museum.

<sup>190</sup> Mack 2018, 379, identifies the first case as on the accounts for Pheidias’ statue of Athena, *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 457, 459 (445-438 BC). It occurs sporadically thereafter; in this collection in 5, 10, 15.

<sup>191</sup> Mack 2018, 382. One might, not least in the light of the above discussion, describe it as “willing”, rather their merely “presenting” their agency. Cf. the way divine agency is treated in the curse tablet, the destructive inverse of the positive, constructive, agency inherent in an inscription recording a treaty or honorific decree. Cf. *IALD* II, 26.

<sup>192</sup> Cf. [sect. 2.6](#).



**5** DECREE PROPOSED BY KLEINIAS RELATING TO THE TRIBUTE. EM 13045 (a), EM 6578 (b), BM 1816,0610.167 (c), EM 13044 (d). a, b, d Acropolis; c Elgin collection (cf. [sect. 1](#)). Four fragments of white marble, overall h. at least 1.60, w. 0.605, th. 0.148, a preserving top and right side, b right side, d top, left side and back, c not joining the others, preserving bottom (?), right side and smoothed back, h. 0.493, w. 0.215, th. 0.148. Developed Attic lettering (cf. [sect. 2.5](#)), h. 0.012, stoich. (c) 0.018-0.019 (vert.), 0.0145 (hor.) To the right of ll. 1-14 a vacant space was originally occupied by a painting (A. M. Woodward, *JHS* 58, 1938, 108-9).

Major editions of c: R. Pococke, *Inscriptiones Antiquae Graecae et Latinae Editae* (1752), 52 no. 42; *CIG* I 75 + Add. p. 896\*; *IG* I 38 e; Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 6 (*IG* I Suppl. p. 13, 38); of b and c *IG* I<sup>2</sup> 66; of a-c Meritt 1937, 43-60; *ATL* I D7 (ph.); a-d B. H. Hill and B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 13, 1944, 1-15; *SEG* 10.31; *ATL* II D7 (ph. a and d); ML 46; *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 34; Matthaïou, *Studies*, 69-88; Matthaïou, *Athenian Empire*, 24-28; OR 154.

Cf. H. B. Mattingly, *Historia* 10, 1961, 150-58 [= 1996, 8-16]; H. B. Mattingly, *ABSA* 65, 1970, 129-33 [= 1996, 281-87]; Blok forthcoming. Autopsy (c), Pitt's squeeze (c), Lambert 2019. Gallery 78, Classical Inscriptions. Fig. 5 (c).

<b>d</b>	θεοί·	
425/4 BC	ἔδοχσεν τῇ βολ[ῆι καὶ τῷ] δέ-	<b>a</b> stoich. 23
or a little later	μοι· Οἶνεις ἐπρυ[τάνευε, Σπ]ου-	
	δίας ἐγραμμάτε[υε, . . . ῶ . . .]ον	
5	ἐπεστάτε, Κλενί[ας εἶπε· τὲ]μ β-	
	ολὲν καὶ τὸς ἄρχ[οντας ἐν] τῷσ-	
	ι πόλεσι καὶ τὸς [ἐπισκό]προς ἐ-	
	πιμέλεσθαι hó[πος ἂν χσ]υλλέ-	
	γεται ὁ φόρος κ[ατὰ τὸ ἔ]τος ἡ-	
10	έκαστον καὶ ἀπά[γεται] Ἀθένα-	
	ζε· χσύμβολα δὲ π[οιέσα]σθαι π-	
	ρὸς τὰς πόλεις, hó[πος ἂ]μ μὲ ἐχσ-	
	εἰ ἀδικῆν τοῖς ἀ[πάγο]σι τὸμ φ-	
	όρον· γράφσασα δ[ὲ ἡε] πόλις ἐς	
15	γραμματοῖον τὸ[μ φό]ρον, ὁόντιν' ἂν ἀποπέμπει, σεμε-	stoich. 40
	ναμένε τῷ συμβ[όλο]ι ἀποπεμπέτο Ἀθέναζε· τὸς δὲ ἀ-	
	πάγοντας ἀποδο[ναι] τὸ γραμματοῖον ἐν τῇ βολῇ ἀ-	
	ναγνῶναι ὁτάμ[πε]ρ τὸμ φόρον ἀποδιδῶσι· ἦοι δὲ πρ-	
	υτάνες μετὰ Διο[νύ]σια ἐκκλησίαν ποιησάντων τοῖ-	
20	ς ἡελλενοταμία[σι ἀ]ποδεῖχσαι Ἀθηναίοις τὸμ πόλ-	
	εον τὰς ἀποδόσα[ς τὸμ] φόρο[ν] ἐντελῆ καὶ τὰς ἐλλιπό-	
	σας χορίς, ὁσαι [ἂν . . . ῶ . . .] Ἀθ]εναίος δὲ ἡελομέ-	
	νος ἄνδρας τέτ[ταρας] ἀποστέλλεν ἐς] τὰς πόλεις ἀντ-	
	ιγραφσομένος τ[ὸμ φόρον τὸν ἀποδοθέντα κα]ὶ ἀπαι-	
25	τέσοντας τὸμ μὲ [ἀποδοθέντα· τῶν δὲ ἡαιρεθέντ]ον, τ-	
	ὸ μὲν δύο πλὲν ἐπ' [Ἰονίαν καὶ Καρίαν καὶ Νέσος ? ἐπὶ] τ-	
	ριέρος ταχείας, [τὸ δὲ ἡετέρο ἐπὶ ἡελλέσπόντον ? κα]-	

- ἰ ἐπὶ Θράικες· ε[. . . . .<sup>25</sup> . . . . . τὲμ]  
 βολὲν καὶ ἐς τὸ[ν δῆμον . . . . .<sup>20</sup> . . . . . βολ]-  
 30 λεύεσθαι περὶ τ[ούτον χσυνεχὸς ἥος ἂν διαπραχθ]-  
 ῆι· ἂν δέ τις Ἀθ[εναῖος ἔχσυμαχος ἀδικεῖ περὶ τὸ]-  
 ν φόρον, ἡὸν δεῖ [τὰς πόλεις γραφσάσας ἐς γραμματεῖ]-  
 ον τοῖς ἀπάγοσ[ιν ἀποπέμπεν Ἀθέναζε, . . . . .<sup>9</sup> . . . γ]-  
 ράφεισθαι πρὸς [τὸς πρυτάνες το. β]ολομενο[. ἈθENA]- **b**  
 35 ἰον καὶ τὸν χσ[υμμάχον· ἡοι δὲ πρυτάν]ες ἐσαγ[όντων]  
 ἐς τὲμ βολὲν [. . . . .<sup>14</sup> . . . . .]ς ἄγ. γράφσεται[ι ἐ εὐθ]-  
 υνέσθο δόρο[ν . . . . .<sup>8</sup> . . . . . δραχμ]ῆς[ι ἡ]έκαστος· [ἡὸ δ' ἂν]  
 καταγνῶι ἡ[ε βολὲ, . . . . .<sup>7</sup> . . . . . αὐτ]ῶι κυρία ἔστο [. . . ἐκ]-  
 φερέτο ἐς τ[. . . . .<sup>13</sup> . . . . .]τῶ· [.]αν δὲ δόχσει [ἀδικεῖ]-  
 40 ν, γνόμας πο[ιέσθον ἡοι πρυ]τάνες ἡό τι ἂν δοκ[εῖ αὐτ]-  
 ὲ παθῆν ἔ[αποτεῖσαι· καὶ ἐ]άν τις περὶ τὲν ἀπα[γογῆ]-  
 ν τῆς βοὸς ἔ[τῆς πανθοπλία]ς ἀδικεῖ, τὰς γραφὰ[ς ἔνα]-  
 ι κατ' αὐτὸ κ[αὶ τὲν ζεμίαν κ]ατὰ ταῦτά· τὸς δὲ [ἡελλεν]-  
 ο[ταμίας ἀναγράφοντας ἐ]ς πινάκιον λελ[ευκομέν]-  
 45 [ον . . . . .<sup>20</sup> . . . . .]ν τῷ φόρῳ καὶ [. . . . .<sup>8</sup> . . . . .]  
 [. . . . .<sup>23</sup> . . . . .]ι ἀπολ[. . . . .<sup>13</sup> . . . . .]  
 ca. 10 lines missing  
 [. . . . .<sup>24</sup> . . . . . τὲμ] βολὲν τὲν ἐσι[ῶσ]- **c**  
 [αν . . . . .<sup>24</sup> . . . . .]· ἡ]όσοι δὲ τὸν ἀπα[γ]-  
 [όντων . . . . .<sup>19</sup> . . . . .] ἂν]αγεγράφεται<sup>193</sup> ὀφέ-  
 60 [λοντες . . . . .<sup>18</sup> . . . . .] ἐπ[ιδεῖχσαι τοῖ δέμ]-  
 [οι . . . . .<sup>20</sup> . . . . .]· ἂν δ[έ τις τῶμ πόλεον ἀ]-  
 [μφισβετῆι περὶ τῷ φόρῳ τῆς ἀποδ]όσεος, φάσκοσα ἀπ-  
 [οδεδοκέναι . . . . .<sup>16</sup> . . . . .]θαι τὸ κοινὸν τῆς  
 [πόλεος . . . . .<sup>20</sup> . . . . .]ας τὰς πόλεις καὶ τ-  
 65 [. . . . .<sup>26</sup> . . . . .]θαι δὲ μὲ ἐχσῆναι  
 [. . . . .<sup>26</sup> . . . . .]τος ὀφελέτο ἡο γρ-  
 [αφ . . . . .<sup>24</sup> . . . . .] τὲν δὲ γραφὲν ἔνα-  
 [ι . . . . .<sup>25</sup> . . . . .]λιῶνι· ἂν δέ τις ἀ-  
 [. . . . .<sup>26</sup> . . . . .]κλέσες ἡε βολὲ βο-  
 70 [λευσα . . . . .<sup>21</sup> . . . . .]· ἐσαγόντων δὲ ἡοι  
 [. . . . .<sup>23</sup> . . . . .] Ἀθ[ε]ναῖοις τὸμ φόρον  
 [. . . . .<sup>19</sup> . . . . .] τὸν πῖνα[?]κα τῆς μενύσεος ἐ-  
 [. . . . .<sup>26</sup> . . . . .] φόρῳ καὶ τῷ περυσ-  
 [ινῶ . . . . .<sup>17</sup> . . . . .] βολὲν π[ροβ]ολεύσασαν ἐχ-  
 75 [σενεγκῆν . . . . .<sup>18</sup> . . . . .] περί τῇ ἡστέρα-  
 [ίαι ἐς τὸν δῆμον . . . . .<sup>12</sup> . . . . .]τῆς χαιρέσεος χρε-

<sup>193</sup> This is an unusual early form of the indicative third person plural perfect medio-passive, “have been written up”, cf. *IG I<sup>3</sup> 61*, l. 10 (close in time to our decree), γεγράφεται. The later form uses periphrasis with the participle and εἰσίν, e.g. ἀναγεγραμμένοι εἰσίν, *IG II<sup>2</sup> 42*, ll. 10-11. See Thraette II, 450 and 453.

### 3. The Inscriptions. 5 Decree Proposed by Kleinias Relating to the Tribute

[μιατι- - - - -]      *vacat*  
*vacat*

Except as noted below, the above text follows OR 154, which is based largely on Hill and Meritt, with the substantial modifications of Matthaïou. For restorations of *c* tentatively suggested by Matthaïou in place of those (less satisfactory) proposed by Hill and Meritt see OR. 22 [ἄν τινες ὄσιν Hill and Meritt, [ἄμ μὲ ἀποδοῶσι ? Matthaïou || 36 δέκα ἡμερῶν ? OR after Matthaïou || 37 μυρίασι eds., χιλίαισι ML. Blok notes that a ten-thousand drachma fine on officials is paralleled in several decrees datable to the years after ca. 430 BC (*IG I<sup>3</sup>* 133, l. 18; [OR 150](#), ll. 38-39; [IG I<sup>3</sup>](#) 71, l. 15; [IG I<sup>3</sup>](#) 84, l. 20; [OR 155](#), sect. 7), but that a thousand drachmas is also possible.

#### *Fragments a, b, d*

Gods.<sup>194</sup> | The Council and the | People decided. Oineis was the prytany; | Spoudias was secretary; -on | (5) was chairman. Kleinias proposed: the | Council and the officials | in the cities and the overseers | shall manage that | the tribute is collected each | (10) year and conveyed to Athens. | Tokens shall be made for (*pros*) the cities, | so that it shall not be possible for those conveying the tribute to do | wrong. Let the city write on | (15) a writing tablet the tribute which it is sending, and | seal it with the token and send it to Athens; and those | conveying it shall hand over the writing tablet in the Council | to be read when they hand over the tribute. Let the | prytany hold an Assembly after the Dionysia for | (20) the Greek Treasurers to reveal to the Athenians those of | the cities which have paid the tribute in full and, | separately, those which have fallen short, [and those?] which [have not paid it or they are?]. The Athenians shall | elect four men and send them to the cities, | to give receipts for the tribute which has been paid and to | (25) demand what has not been paid. [Of those elected] two | shall sail to [Ionia, Caria and the Islands?] in | a fast trireme, [and the other two to the Hellespont and?] | to Thrace. . . . to the | Council and the People . . . | (30) deliberate about [these matters continuously until they are settled]. | If any Athenian or ally does wrong concerning the | tribute which the cities are required to write on a writing tablet | for those conveying it and to send to Athens, whoever wishes of the Athenians and the allies | shall be permitted to write an accusation against him to the prytany; | (35) and let the prytany introduce the accusation | into the Council [*within a certain number of days from when*] it is made, or they shall be | penalised at their accounting for bribery, [a thousand or ten thousand] drachmas each. Whomever | the Council condemns . . . for him the judgement shall be valid . . . | refer him to . . . When he is judged to be in the wrong, | (40) let the prytany formulate proposals about what | he should suffer or pay. And if any one does wrong with regard to the bringing | of the cow and panoply, the accusations | against him and the punishment shall be handled in the same manner. The Greek Treasurers | shall write up on a whitened board | (45) . . . of the tribute and . . . | . . . *ca. 10 lines missing*

#### *Fragment c*

(57) . . . the in-coming Council | . . . as many of those conveying (*scil.* the tribute) | . . . who have been written up as being | (60) in debt . . . [the Council?] shall indicate to the |

<sup>194</sup> On this heading cf. [4](#) with commentary.



### 3. The Inscriptions. 5 Decree Proposed by Kleinias Relating to the Tribute

People . . . If any of the cities | [disputes the payment of the tribute], claiming | that it has paid it . . . the collective body (?) (*koinon*) of the | [city?] . . . the cities and | (65) . . . it shall not be possible to | . . . [let the accused *or* the accuser?] owe | . . . the accusation shall be | . . . in the month -. If anybody | . . . let the Council | (70) [deliberate?] . . . Let the – introduce | . . . tribute to the Athenians | . . . the board containing the denunciation (?) | . . . of the tribute and last year's | . . . the Council shall formulate a proposal and | (75) bring it forward . . . on the next day | [to the People] . . . [to deal with?] . . . of the choice (*or* election) . . .

This decree, commonly referred to, after its proposer (who is not otherwise identifiable), as “Kleinias’ decree”, is the latest of three major epigraphically attested measures taken by Athens in the middle of the first phase of the Peloponnesian War, the Archidamian War, to tighten up the payment of tribute by her allies.<sup>195</sup> In what is probably the earliest of the three, “Kleonymos’ decree”, perhaps of 426/5 BC ([IG I<sup>3</sup> 68](#)), each allied city was obliged to appoint its own “tribute-collectors” and the decree sets in place new systems for pursuing non-payers. The second, Thoudippos’ decree of 425/4 BC ([IG I<sup>3</sup> 71](#)), provided for a significant ratcheting up of tribute levels. “Kleinias’ decree” starts with administrative provisions which seem designed to prevent discrepancies, caused by sharp practices in transit, between the amount of tribute alleged by a city to have been sent to Athens and the amount actually received. A written record authenticated with special seals is henceforth to accompany the tribute to Athens, to be opened on delivery and compared with the tribute received (1-18). The “Greek treasurers” (*Hellenotamiai*), the Athenian officials responsible for tribute collection, are to report to a special Assembly to be held in the spring after the City Dionysia on which cities have paid, and which have not (18-22). Four commissioners are then to be appointed to go to the different regions of the Empire to deliver tribute receipts to the cities and to pursue non-payers (22-30). A legal process is provided for anyone who is suspected of abusing this new system (31-41). The same process is to apply to the cow and suit of armour (*panoply*) which each city was obliged to send to Athens together with the tribute (41-45). This obligation had been recently imposed on all the allies by Thoudippos’ decree, which seems a clear indication that our decree post-dates that one.<sup>196</sup> The text on the British Museum fragment (*c*) is not well enough preserved to enable restoration, but it is clear enough from the reference to “the incoming Council” (57) and “last year’s” (73) that it is envisaged that measures taken under the decree might run over into the following year, and that this part of the text included arrangements for cases in which allies disputed allegations of non-payment (61-76).

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<sup>195</sup> For fuller discussion of these three measures in context see [Lambert 2017](#), 32-43.

<sup>196</sup> Cf. [IG I<sup>3</sup> 71](#), 55-58. This observation, first made by Mattingly in 1961, was crucial in determining the date of this decree. Since Woodward’s 1938 article, it had been more commonly dated to the early 440s or 430s BC (see OR’s notes).

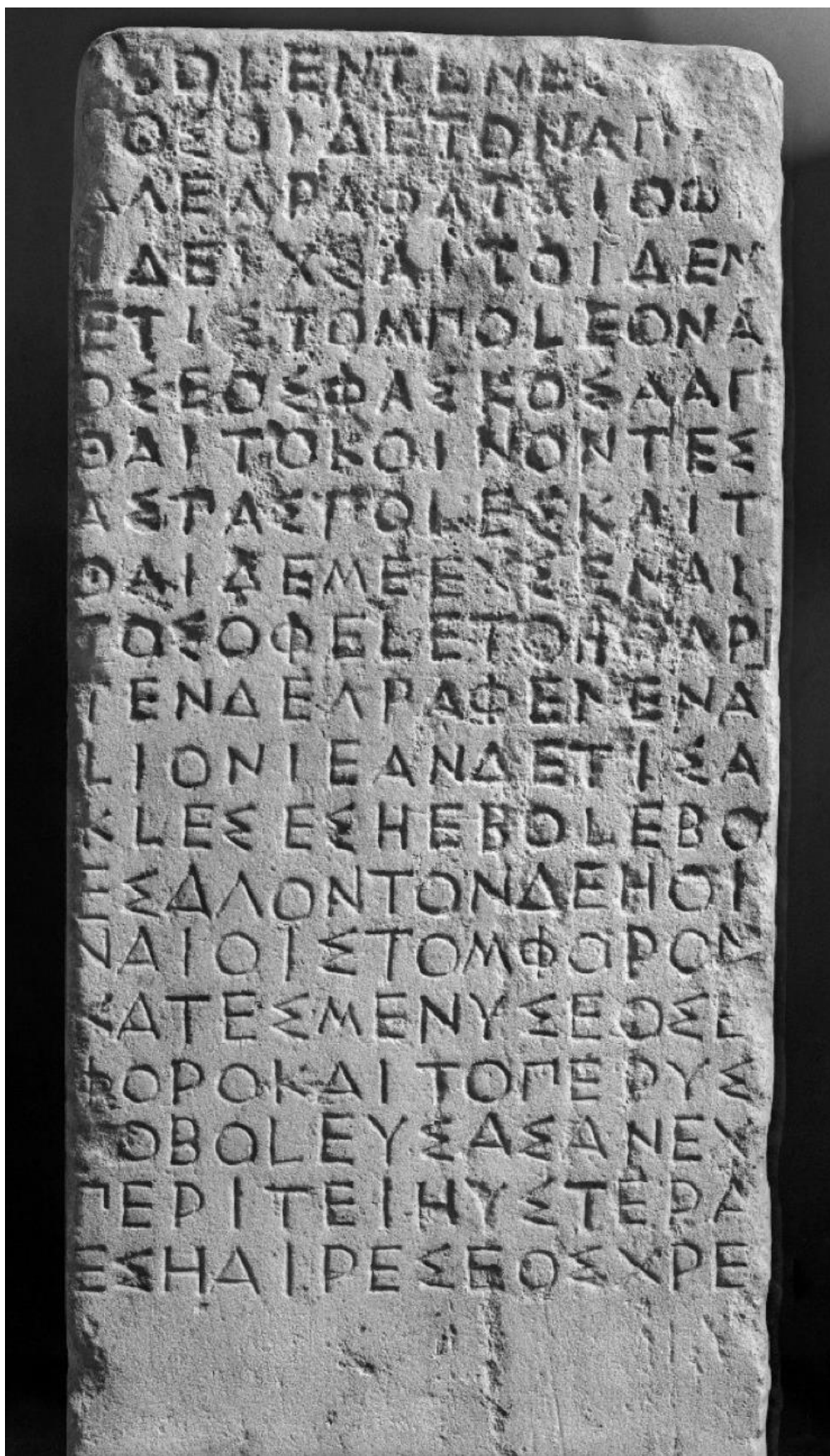


Fig. 5. 5 c © Trustees of the British Museum.

**6** DECREE ABOUT BUILDING A TEMPLE. BM 1816,0610.273. Elgin collection (cf. [sect. 1](#)). Fragment of a stele of white marble, left side and probably back preserved, h. 0.261, w. 0.255, th. 0.175. Developed Attic lettering (cf. [sect. 2.5](#)), h. 0.012 (Σ larger), stoich. vert. 0.019, hor. 0.0154.

Eds. *CIG* I 77 + Add. p. 896\*; *IG* I 60; Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 7 (*IG* I Suppl. p. 18, 60); *IG* I<sup>2</sup> 111; L. D. Caskey, in *Erechtheum*, 279-81 no. 1; *SEG* 10.71; *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 132.

Cf. A. B. West, in *Erechtheum*, 647-48; H. B. Mattingly, *Historia* 10, 1961, 170 (= 1996, 31) and in *Ancient Society and Institutions. Studies ... Ehrenberg* (1966), 203-4, 219-20 nn. 60 and 62 (= 1996, 164-65) (*SEG* 23.17); J. M. Spurza, *AJA* 93, 1989, 268 (*SEG* 39.7). Autopsy Lambert 2019. Gallery 19. Fig. 6.

ca. 450-403 BC

ἔδοχσεν τῇ βο[λῆι καὶ τῷ δέμοι· – ἐπρυτάνευε, – ἐγγραμμά]- stoich.  
 τευε, Σμίκυθο[ς ἐπεστάτε, – – εἶπε· – – – – – ἀρχιτ]-  
 5 ἔκτονα τῷ νεὸ – – – – –  
 ιος ἀρχιτέκτ[ον – – – – –]  
 Ἀθηναίων μισ[θο – – – – –]  
 οσι συνισταμ – – – – –  
 σιας ἡ ἀρχιτέ[κτον – – – – – τῇ]-  
 10 ν τομὲν καὶ τῇ ν – – – – – τῷ]-  
 ν ἔργον, ὅσα δ[ε – – – – – ἡος – -]  
 τα καὶ κάλλ[ιστα – – – – –]  
 κοσάντων – – – – –

I was unable to confirm the letter traces detected by *IG* I<sup>3</sup> above l. 3, viz. l. 1 vertical stroke in second space, l. 2 painted letters from fourth space || 8-9 –σι ἄς or [ἐργα]σίας or end of a name, τῆς δὲ ἐργα]σίας ἡ ἀρχιτέ[κτον ἐπιμελέσθω Mattingly || 10 ν τὸ μὲν κ[α]τε[σκευασμέν- Mattingly, after Boeckh, does not suit the traces || 10-11 δ[εῖ ἐκτελέσαι Mattingly || 12-13 θριγ]κοσάντων ? (“let them set in place a cornice”) Kirchhoff.

The Council and People decided. [- was the prytany. -] was secretary. | Smikytho[s was chairman. – proposed:] . . . | (5) architect of the temple . . . | architect . . . | Athenian(s) contract or payment . . . | associated or settled or organised (?) . . . | the architect . . . | (10) the cutting (?) and the . . . | of the work(s), but such as are . . . as | –ly and finely as possible . . . | . . .

In this tantalising fragment the Assembly made arrangements for work on a temple, possibly one already under construction, but there is not enough evidence to pin down the date or to identify which temple is at issue. West suggested that the decree was passed on the same day as *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 66 on the basis that the chairman in l. 4, Smikythos, was the –θος who was chairman in l. 4 of that decree; but there are no less than 45 names in –θος in Attica<sup>197</sup> and in any case *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 66 cannot be independently dated.<sup>198</sup> The letter forms of

<sup>197</sup> *LGPV* II p. 499. The length of the name in *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 66 is indeterminable.

### 3. The Inscriptions. 6 Decree about Building a Temple

our decree indicate a date in the second half of the fifth century, but no further precision is possible. Possible candidates include the temple of Athena Nike,<sup>199</sup> the Hephaisteion,<sup>200</sup> and the Erechtheion.<sup>201</sup>



Fig. 6. 6 © Trustees of the British Museum.

<sup>198</sup> It is ascribed to 427/6 BC in *IG I<sup>3</sup>*, but this is not firm, e.g. C. W. Fornara, *Hist.* 59, 2010, 129-42 [*SEG* 60.88], suggested 412 BC.

<sup>199</sup> Suggested e.g. by Mattingly 1961. Cf. *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 35.

<sup>200</sup> Suggested by Mattingly 1966. Cf. *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 82; work on the statues for this temple started in 421/0 BC, *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 472, but exactly when the temple itself was constructed is not known.

<sup>201</sup> Either the start of work (shortly before the Peloponnesian War?), or its resumption in 409/8 BC, in which case it has been suggested that this might be the decree proposed by Epigenes referred to at *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 474, l. 5. First put forward by Boeckh, this has been the most popular view (see also Spurza).



**7 HONOURS FOR EUAGORAS OF SALAMIS.** Ag. I 7121 (*a*), BM 1959,0414.4 (*b*, cf. [sect. 1](#)), EM 6889 (*c*). Three fragments of a stele of white marble, *a* back preserved, and at the top a small patch of relief depicting the lower legs and feet of a standing draped figure (Salamis, or representing Salamis?),<sup>202</sup> Agora, in wall of modern house at Adrianou 40, *b* right side and back preserved, Acropolis slopes ? (acquired by Marquess of Sligo, cf. *sect. 1*), *c* back preserved, south slope of Acropolis, between theatres of Dionysos and Herodes Atticus. *a* h. 0.29, w. 0.235, th. 0.113, *b* h. 0.295, w. 0.198, th. 0.115-0.120, *c* h. 0.285, w. 0.195, th. 0.112-0.118. L. h. 0.014 (l. 1), 0.013 (l. 2), 0.008-0.01, stoich. vert. 0.0155-0.0165, horiz. 0.0115-0.0117. “Cutter of *IG II<sup>2</sup> 1386*”, 423/2-394/3 BC (Tracy 2016, 125 (ph. squeeze of *c*)).

Eds. *c IG II 10b* Add. p. 397; *IG II<sup>2</sup> 20* + Add. p. 656 (= A. Wilhelm, *Ath. Mitt.* 39, 1914, 291 [*Kl. Schriften* II, III, 609]); *abc* D. M. Lewis and R. S. Stroud, *Hesp.* 48, 1979, 180-93 (*SEG* 29.86) (ph.); RO 11; Matthaïou 2019, 15-34 (ph.).

Cf. P. Funke, *ZPE* 53, 1983, 149-89, especially 152-61 (*SEG* 33.72); Meyer 1989, 276-77 A 39 (ph. *a*); Lawton 84 (ph. *a*); *Agora* XVI 106B; M. C. Monaco, *ASAtene* 87, serie III 9. Tomo I, 2009 [2010], 293-94 (*SEG* 59.98). Autopsy Lambert 2018, Matthaïou 2018. In store. *Fig. 7 (b)*.

## Relief

394/3 BC

[Εὐαγόρα Σαλαμινίου]

on moulding under relief

*a* [Ἀριστοκλῆς . . . . .<sup>c. 19-20</sup> . . . . .]σιος ἐγγραμμάτευε·  
 [ἔδοξεν τῇ βολῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ . . . .<sup>7</sup> . . . ἔ]πρυτάνευε, Ἀριστοκλ- stoich. 50  
 [ῆς ἐγγραμμάτευε· Εὐβολίδης ἥρχε· . . . .<sup>7</sup> . . . ἔ]πεστάτε, Σώφιλος εἰ-  
 5 [πε· ἐπειδὴ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός ἐστιν περὶ τὸν δῆμον] τὸν Ἀθηναίων καὶ ν-  
 [ῦν καὶ ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ Εὐαγόρας ὁ Σαλ]αμινίων βασιλεὺς  
 -----ι πεμφθέντας ὑπ[ὸ]  
 -----ς δὲ τῆς πόλε[ως .]  
 -----ἸΡ[. . . .<sup>5</sup> .]

lacuna

*c* 10 [. . . . .<sup>26</sup> . . . . .]ΗΝ[. . . . .<sup>22</sup> . . . . .]  
 [. . . . .<sup>25</sup> . . . . .]ΙΕΠΑ[. . . . .<sup>21</sup> . . . . .]  
 [. . . . .<sup>24</sup> . . . . . π]ρυταν[. . . . .<sup>17</sup> . . . . .]. ον *b*  
 [. . . . .<sup>24</sup> . . . . .] Κόνων<sup>vv</sup> [. . . . .<sup>10</sup> . . . . . Ἑλλ]λην. ς ΕΥ-  
 [. . . . .<sup>18</sup> . . . . . ἐπαιν]έσαι τε αὐ[τὸν καὶ τοὺς ὑε?]ῖς καὶ στ-  
 15 [εφανῶσαι αὐτὸν χρυσῶι στεφ]άνῳ· ὁ δὲ κῆ[ρυξ ὁ τῆς βολῆς] ἀνειπέ-  
 [τω Διονυσίων ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ?]ι ὅταν οἱ τρα[γωικοὶ ἀγω]νίζωντα[ι] ὁ-  
 [τι στεφανοῖ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθη]ναίων Εὐαγόρ[αν τὸν Σαλαμ]ινίων βασι[ι]-  
 [λέα εὐεργεσίας ἔνεκα τ]ῆς ἐς Ἀθηναί[ους ὑπὲρ Ἑλλ]λάδος Ἑλλην[. . .]  
 [. . . . .<sup>18</sup> . . . . . α]ὐτὸν καὶ τὸς ἐκ[γόνους κ]ηρύξει προε[δρ]-  
 20 [ίαν . . . . .<sup>13</sup> . . . . . εἰς] ἅπαντας τοὺς ἀ[γῶνας ὁ]πόσος ἂν Ἀθη[ναί]-  
 [οι τιθῶσι· τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα τὸ]δε ἀνα[γράψα]ς ὁ γραμ[ματεὺς ὁ τ]ῆς [βολ]-

<sup>202</sup> On reliefs at the top of inscribed decrees cf. [10](#) with commentary.

### 3. The Inscriptions. 7 Honours for Euagoras of Salamis

[ῆς - - - - - στησάτω - - - - -]. . τοῦ ἀγάλμα[το]-  
 [ς - - - - - ἐπαινέ]σαι δὲ κ[α]ὶ τὸς [. .]  
 [- - - - -]ΟΤ[. . . . .]Ν[. .]

*one line uninscribed?*

*traces?*

RO 11 followed Lewis and Stroud in printing *c* below *b*. Matthaiou shows that *c* was located to the left of *b* with the text running from one fragment to the other. 1-9 Lewis and Stroud. 1 Or [Εὐαγόρα τῷ Σαλαμ]ινίῳ Lewis-Stroud, but cf. e.g. [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 352](#) || 3 Αἰαντίς or Λεωντίς, 4 Εὐβολίδης ἥρχε, cf. *IG II<sup>2</sup> 19*, Funke || 12-14 ε(ι)ς τὸ π[ρ]υταν[εῖον εἰς αὐρίον· <sup>νν</sup> Φι]λὸν[. . .<sup>3-4</sup>. εἶπε(ν)· τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθάπερ] Κόνων<sup>νν</sup>, [ἀνθ' ὧν δὲ τὸς Ἑλλ]λην[α]ς εὐ[η]ργέτηκεν or εὐ[η] [πεποίηκεν Εὐαγόρας ? Matthaiou, noting that both restorations are one letter short for the space available, cf. [IG I<sup>3</sup> 102](#), ll. 8-10, [IG II<sup>2</sup> 1](#), ll. 11-12, 58-59, Ἑλλ]ληνες Εὐ[η]ργόρα Lewis and Stroud || 14-15 Matthaiou after Lewis and Stroud, καὶ ἐκγόνο]υς or τοὺς ὑε]ῖς καὶ σ[τ]εφανῶσαι αὐτόν Matthaiou || 15-16 ὁ δὲ κ[η]ρυξ ὁ τῆς βολῆς] ἀνειπέ[τ]ω Matthaiou, cf. *IG II<sup>2</sup> 1247*, ll. 10-15, Plato *Laches* 194e || 16 [Διονυσίων ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ]ι Matthaiou, cf. *I Eleus.* 70, ll. 20-22, [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 378](#), ll. 24-26, *IG II<sup>2</sup> 555*, ll. 4-7 || 16-17 ὅ[τι στεφανοὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθη]ναίων Matthaiou after Lewis and Stroud, cf. [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 298](#), ll. 29-31, *IG II<sup>2</sup> 1202*, ll. 14-16, Aeschin. 3.49 || 18 εὐεργεσίας ἔνεκα Matthaiou, cf. Isoc. 9.54, ἀνδραγαθίας Lewis and Stroud || 18 Ἀθηναί[ο]υς ὑπὲρ Ἑλλ]λάδος Ἑλλήν (“a Greek on behalf of Greece”) Lewis and Stroud, cf. Isoc. 9.55 || 18-20 Ἑλλήν[ων] | [δὲ ἀπάντων εὐεργέτην α]ὐτόν καὶ τὸς ἐκ[γόνους κ]ηρύξει, προε[δρ]||[ίαν δ' εἶναι Matthaiou || 20, 21 Matthaiou || 21-22 ὁ τ[ῆ]ς [βολῆς]||[ῆς ἐ(ν)στήλῃ λιθίνῃ στησάτω ἐν ἀγορᾷ Matthaiou || 22 πρόσθ]εν Lewis and Stroud, [ἐπὶ δεξ]ιά Matthaiou, cf. [IG I<sup>3</sup> 52](#), l. B24, I<sup>3</sup> 1657, ll. 3-6 || 22-23 τοῦ ἀγάλμα[το]ς τοῦ Διὸς Matthaiou.

#### Fragment a

*Relief* | [Of Euagoras the] Salaminian. | Aristokles son of - of - was secretary. | [The Council and People decided]. - was the prytany. Aristokles | [was secretary. Euboulides was archon (394/3). -] was chairman. Sophilos | (5) proposed: [since Euagoras] the king of the Salaminians [is a good man with regard to | the] Athenian People both now [and in time past] | . . . [envoys?] sent by | . . . of the city | . . .

#### Unknown extent of text missing

#### Fragments b and c

(10) . . . | . . . | . . . prytan- . . . | . . . Konon . . . Greeks | . . . to praise him [and his sons?] and | (15) crown [him with a gold] crown; and the herald [of the Council] shall announce | [at the Dionysia in the theatre?] when there is the competition in tragedies, | that the Athenian [People crowns] Euagoras, king of the Salaminians, | [for his benefaction] to the Athenians [on behalf] of Greece, | . . . shall proclaim . . . Greeks (?) . . . him and his descendants, a seat of honour | (20) . . . at all the competitions that the Athenians | [put on]; and the secretary of the Council, having inscribed this decree | . . . shall stand it . . . of the statue | . . . and to praise also the | . . . | *One line uninscribed? | Traces?*

### 3. The Inscriptions. 7 Honours for Euagoras of Salamis

This inscription supplies valuable evidence for Athens' relations with Euagoras, king of Salamis on Cyprus,<sup>203</sup> who played a crucial role in securing, in 394/3 BC, the end of the naval hegemony that Sparta had enjoyed in the Aegean since her victory in the Peloponnesian War; it is also important as the earliest inscribed example (albeit very fragmentary) of an award by Athens of "the highest honours".

Ruler of Salamis since ca. 411 BC, Euagoras had been honoured by Athens perhaps ca. 410 or 407 BC by [IG I<sup>3</sup> 113](#) (from the Acropolis), which awarded him Athenian citizenship.<sup>204</sup> After the defeat of Athens at Aigospotamoi in 405 BC, the Athenian Konon had taken refuge in Salamis,<sup>205</sup> and with the material support of Euagoras, and under the aegis of the Persian satrap Pharnabazos (who was pursuing a war with Sparta that had been ongoing since ca. 400 BC),<sup>206</sup> he commanded the fleet which inflicted a decisive defeat on the Spartans at the battle of Knidos, early 394/3 BC (August).<sup>207</sup> This decree belongs in the context of an award of honours to Euagoras by Athens in the wake of this victory. Later, in 390 BC, Euagoras sought to enlarge his kingdom at the expense of his neighbours on Cyprus, causing Soloi, Amathous and Kition to appeal to Persia, and putting Athens in an uncomfortable position. The result was war with Persia, resulting in Euagoras' eventual retreat back into Salamis and reacknowledgement of the Persian king as his overlord. Euagoras was assassinated in 374/3 BC.<sup>208</sup> Isoc. 9 is an encomium on him written for a festival held in his memory in 370 BC (?) by his son and successor, Nikokles. For Euagoras' involvement in Konon's diplomacy with Dionysios of Syracuse at this time, cf. [RO 10](#), with AIO's notes.

The restoration of l. 3, "The Council and People decided" (implying a "probouleumatic" Assembly decree, i.e. one which followed the Council's proposal) rather than "The People decided" (implying a "non-probouleumatic" Assembly decree, which built on or recast the Council's proposal) is indicated not only by spacing but by the fact that Sophilos (otherwise unidentifiable) proposed another probouleumatic decree in 394/3 BC, *IG II<sup>2</sup> 19* = Osborne, *Naturalization D7*. Probouleumatic decrees were proposed in the Assembly by the councillor who had sponsored them in the Council, and Athenians could only serve on the Council for two annual terms in a lifetime.<sup>209</sup> Taken together, the evidence suggests that Sophilos proposed both decrees while a councillor in the same Athenian year as the victory at Knidos, 394/3 BC.<sup>210</sup> The fact that the decree as preserved contains no reference to the honour attested for Euagoras in the literary evidence, i.e. a

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<sup>203</sup> So referred to in ll. 6 and 17-18 of our decree. Cf. Lys. 6.28; "tyrant" at Isoc. 9.27.

<sup>204</sup> Isoc. 9.54, cf. [Dem.] 12.10.

<sup>205</sup> Xen. *Hell.* 2.1.29, Diod. 13.106.6.

<sup>206</sup> Isoc. 9.55-56, cf. Diod. 14.39.1-2.

<sup>207</sup> Lys. 19.28, Xen. *Hell.* 4.3.10; victory accomplished with Konon as general, and Euagoras supplying most of the military force, Isoc. 9.56. The battle coincided with the early stages, in mainland Greece, of the "Corinthian War", involving Athens and her allies against Sparta. Cf. [8](#) with notes.

<sup>208</sup> Diod. 15.47.8, cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1311b; *FGrH* 115 Theopompos F 103.12.

<sup>209</sup> On these aspects of the organisation of the Council and its relationship with the Assembly cf. [sect. 2.2](#).

<sup>210</sup> Cf. Funke. The battle of Knidos took place early in the Athenian year 394/3 BC (August); precisely when in the year this decree was passed is unclear.



statue, may imply that there were one or more “riders” to Sophilos’ decree, passed in the Assembly.<sup>211</sup>

According to the literary sources, the Athenian Assembly honoured both Konon and Euagoras with bronze statues in the Agora, the first time such a signal honour had been awarded at Athens since the statues of the tyrannicides, Harmodios and Aristogeiton.<sup>212</sup> This seems to have been to an extent the product of a bout of competitive erection of statues of opposing leaders across Greece in the years following the Peloponnesian War, with partisans of Sparta erecting statues of Lysander, and partisans of Athens statues of Konon, who also received statues in Erythrai (RO 8),<sup>213</sup> Ephesos and Samos (Paus. 6.3.16). It can also be seen as part of an effort at persuasive interpretation as a Greek victory of what had in fact been a Persian-sponsored initiative at Knidos. Since Euagoras was (already in the fifth century, see above) an Athenian citizen by decree, it does not technically represent a breach of the convention, which was to apply through the fourth century, that only Athenian citizens were honoured by the Assembly with statues.<sup>214</sup>

There was a substantial Phoenician population in Cyprus, but Euagoras belonged to a dynasty which identified as Greek, claiming descent from Aiakos son of Zeus, and Teukros brother of Ajax, who, “after he captured Troy, went to Cyprus and settled Salamis, giving it the same name as his former fatherland” [i.e. the island of Salamis in the Saronic Gulf].<sup>215</sup> Pausanias remarks in a similar vein on Euagoras’ motivation for supporting Konon: “Euagoras did this because he considered himself an Athenian and of Salaminian descent”.<sup>216</sup> Moreover, although won under the aegis of the Persian satrap, the victory of Knidos was construed in Athens as achieved by and for Greeks. Thus in our decree Euagoras’ benefaction towards the Athenians is said to have been “[on behalf] of Greece” (l. 18), and note the reference to “Greeks” at the end of the same line and of l. 13. Thus too Isocrates remarks that as a result of Knidos Greeks gained freedom (i.e. from the Spartans) and autonomy in place of slavery.<sup>217</sup> The erection of the statues of Konon and Euagoras next to the statue of Zeus Soter (“the Saviour”), located in front of the stoa of Zeus Eleutherios (“of Freedom”) is symbolically significant in this context.<sup>218</sup>

<sup>211</sup> Note the possible break in the text at the bottom of fragment *b*. On Matthaiou’s restoration of ll. 12-14, the surviving text in ll. 10-12 belonged to a rider to Sophilos’ decree, proposed by Konon himself, and ll. 12-24 to a further rider proposed by a Philon-.

<sup>212</sup> Dem. 20.68-70, Isoc. 9.56-57, Paus. 1.3 with 24.3. Cf. Löhr 2000, 74-75, no. 85. Statues of tyrannicides: [IG I<sup>3</sup> 502](#).

<sup>213</sup> Cf. [2](#) with commentary. Erythrai had revolted from Athens in 413/12 BC (Thuc. 8.5-6), but laid aside her allegiance to Sparta after the battle of Knidos (Diod. 14.84.3-4).

<sup>214</sup> Cf. Engen 2010, 165.

<sup>215</sup> Isoc. 9.12-20 (quotation from 18).

<sup>216</sup> Paus. 1.3.1.

<sup>217</sup> Isoc. 9.56, 68.

<sup>218</sup> Isoc. 9.57, cf. Lewis and Stroud, 192 with n. 21. Later, with equally heavy symbolism, it was to be the location of the prospectus of the Second Athenian League in 378/7 BC, [RO 22](#), ll. 65-66, and most likely of one of the copies the decree of 323/2 BC honouring Euphron of Sikyon for his support of the cause of freedom from Macedonian control, [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 377](#) and [378](#), l. 29; more clearly at [IG II<sup>2</sup> 448](#), ll. 69-71.

Where was our stele erected? L. 22 locates it in relation to “the *agalma* . . .”, a word which implies a cult statue, not a human one. Two interpretations have been offered as to the identity of this *agalma*: (a) the statue of Athena Promachos (“Battle-Leader”) on the Acropolis. That would be consistent with (but is not required by) the pattern of findspots of the three fragments, around, on or near the slopes of the Acropolis (including at least one fragment on the south slope), and it would have made sense as being next to the earlier decree honouring Euagoras, *IG I<sup>3</sup> 113*;<sup>219</sup> (b) the statue of Zeus Soter in the Agora, near to which the statues of Konon and Euagoras were erected. Such a collocation of statue and decree awarding it would have an obvious logic, and there are good Hellenistic parallels,<sup>220</sup> though it is not clear that this was established practice in the fourth century.<sup>221</sup>

“For which reasons we honoured them [Konon and Euagoras] with the greatest honours (*megistais timais*) and we set up statues (*eikonas*) of them where the statue (*agalma*) of Zeus Soter is, near to it and to each other.”<sup>222</sup> It is unclear whether “the greatest honours” implies at this time a particular package of honours and privileges at Athens (the term is used epigraphically only later and outside Athens), but the descendants of Harmodios and Aristogeiton were also awarded perpetual *sitesis* (permanent dining rights) in the *prytaneion* and *proedria* (seats of honour) in the theatre,<sup>223</sup> and later statue grants, beginning, it seems, with that for Iphikrates for exploits against the Spartans in 390 BC, were also accompanied by these two privileges.<sup>224</sup> In the earliest extant inscribed grant of a statue, that for Asandros of Macedon in 314/3 BC, the relevant clause is: “and to grant him *sitesis* in the city hall and *proedria* in all the competitions of the city, and the eldest of his descendants”.<sup>225</sup> As well as the ubiquitous golden crown, the preserved section of the decree for Euagoras awards *proedria* (it seems hereditary, but the relevant clause is not fully preserved). There is no sign, however, of *sitesis*. Perhaps, like the statue, it was awarded in another part of the inscription; or perhaps such an award was regarded as inappropriate for a foreign ruler who would not normally be resident at Athens (though that consideration does not seem to have weighed later in the case of Asandros).<sup>226</sup>

The patchiness of our evidence for the award of the “highest honours” at this period is also apparent in the case of Konon. It is plausible enough that he was awarded *proedria* and *sitesis*, but there is no evidence on the matter. Indeed, the inscribed decree

<sup>219</sup> This view is supported by Lawton and Monaco. Cf. [RO 20](#), ll. 24-25: στήσαι δὲ στήλην ἐν ἀκροπόλει [πρό]σθεν τῷ ἀγάλματι.

<sup>220</sup> E.g. [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 911](#), ll. 95-96, cf. ll. 105-7 (270/69 BC, Agora); [985](#), ll. 80-81, cf. ll. 87-89 (259/8 BC, Agora); [1137](#), ll. 26-30 (228/7 BC, Acropolis); etc., cf. Ma 2013, 59.

<sup>221</sup> See [AIUK 2 \(BSA\)](#), p. 12. For statues in the Agora and inscriptions on the Acropolis in the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century see [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 853](#), ll. 39-42, cf. ll. 55-57 (295/4 BC); on [870](#) (285/4 BC) see [12](#). On this topic see also Lambert forthcoming b.

<sup>222</sup> Isoc. 9.57.

<sup>223</sup> [IG I<sup>3</sup> 131](#), revised on AIO, cf. Isae. 5.47; Dem. 20.127-30, 159; Domingo Gygax 2016, 161-65.

<sup>224</sup> Aeschin. 3.243, Dem. 23.130 and 136; Domingo Gygax 2016, 196-99.

<sup>225</sup> [AIUK 2 \(BSA\)](#), no. 1, ll. 25-29.

<sup>226</sup> It is not clear whether Euagoras ever visited Athens in person. On the perpetual *sitesis* awarded to seers see below, on [9](#).

for Konon does not survive, though Demosthenes refers to it in his speech *Against Leptines*: “... this man was serving as general for the king (of Persia) after the return of the democrats from the Piraeus when the city was weak and did not have even one ship. Without receiving any funds from you, he won a naval battle against the Spartans and taught them to respect you when before they had given orders to others. He drove the harmosts [Spartan commanders] out of the islands, and after that returned home and rebuilt the walls.<sup>227</sup> He was the first person to put the city in a position where it could compete again with the Spartans for leadership. [69] In fact, for him alone of all is this written on the *stèle*: ‘Since Konon’, it says, ‘liberated the allies of Athens’. . . . [70] This is the reason why they at that time not only gave him tax-exemption (*ateleian*), but also set up a bronze statue, the first since Harmodios and Aristogeiton. They thought that by destroying the power of the Spartans he had put an end to a great tyranny. The clerk will therefore read you what was decreed for Konon at the time so that you can better appreciate what I am talking about. Read.”<sup>228</sup> Whether Euagoras was also awarded tax privileges is unknown. Konon dedicated a gold crown on the Acropolis, accompanied by a dedicatory inscription, “Konon from the sea-battle against the Lakedaimonians”.<sup>229</sup> It is not clear whether this was a (or the) crown awarded Konon by the People as an adjunct to his statue; it is also unclear whether Euagoras also dedicated on the Acropolis the crown awarded by our decree. Konon apparently also dedicated a votive statue of himself on the Acropolis, later to be extended to incorporate a statue of his son Timotheos, who was also honoured with a statue in the Agora next to his father’s.<sup>230</sup> This seems to have established a pattern followed in cases of future awards of public statues;<sup>231</sup> but whether Euagoras dedicated a similar votive statue on the Acropolis is not known.

As convincingly reconstructed by Matthaïou, the best preserved section of the text of this decree provides for the announcement of Euagoras’ crown at the City Dionysia, in the competition of the tragedies.<sup>232</sup> This provision occurs first in the decree of 410/9 BC passed by the restored democracy in honour of the assassins of Phrynichos the leading member of the oligarchy of the 400;<sup>233</sup> as Peter Wilson has observed, the connotation of asserting “democracy and freedom” can be detected in other contexts in which it occurs, including ours.<sup>234</sup>

<sup>227</sup> Cf. [RO 9a](#).

<sup>228</sup> Dem. 20.68-70 (transl. E. M. Harris, *Demosthenes, Speeches 20-22*, in the series, *The Oratory of Classical Greece*, modified).

<sup>229</sup> *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1424a Add. p. 801, listed immediately before a crown dedicated by the treasurers in 394/3 BC. Cf. Dem. 22.72, 24.80; Funke, 154-55.

<sup>230</sup> Paus. 1.24.3; *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 3774+, as read and interpreted by Löhr 2000, 76-77 no. 86: Κόνων Τιμ[ο]θέο Τιμόθεος Κόνω[νος] [ἀνέ]θεσαν. Timotheos, cf. Aeschin. 3.243.

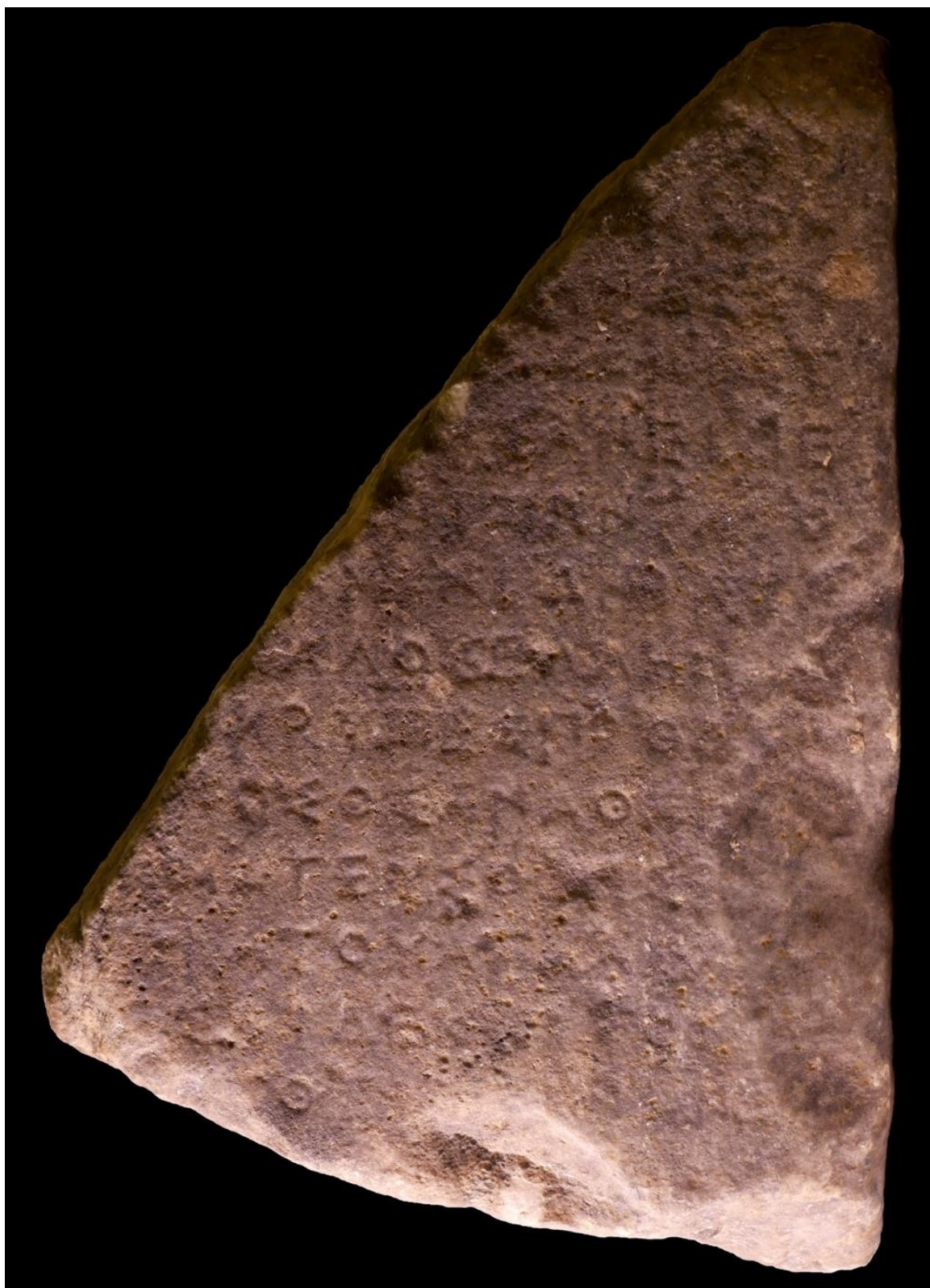
<sup>231</sup> Thus for Iphikrates there was also a statue decreed by the People in the Agora (Aeschin. 3.243, Dem. 23.130 and 136, etc.) and a votive statue on the Acropolis (Paus. 1.24.7). For this interpretation of Iphikrates’ statues see Domingo Gygax 2016, 196. This pattern is discussed further by Lambert forthcoming b.

<sup>232</sup> The proclamation is to be carried out by the public herald, who was predecessor (and probably ancestor) of the one honoured two hundred years later in [15](#).

<sup>233</sup> [IG I<sup>3</sup> 102](#) = OR 182.

<sup>234</sup> Wilson 2009, 20, cf. Wilson and Hartwig 2009, 19. For fuller discussion of announcement of honours at festivals see the commentary on [12](#) below.

3. *The Inscriptions. 7 Honours for Euagoras of Salamis*



*Fig. 7. 7 b.* Photograph: J. R. T. Lambert.



**8 HONOURS FOR A MAN FROM ARGOS.** BM 1816,0610.370. Elgin collection (cf. [sect. 1](#)). Fragment of a stele of white marble. Top with spring of a damaged moulding preserved. Broken on all other sides, including to the right. The inscription is cut in a smoothed panel. To the right there remains part of the unworked surface and a decorative floral motif.<sup>235</sup> A vein of reddish marble runs through the right side, ca. 0.033 from front. A thin (0.003 wide) raised (< 0.001) band runs vertically from the top of inscribed surface through the second mu of l. 1. H. 0.28, w. 0.28, th. 0.10. L. h. 0.012. Stoich. vert. 0.0258, horiz. 0.0184. Close to style of “Cutter of *IG II<sup>2</sup> 1386*”, 423/2-394/3 BC (Tracy 2016, 121-44).

Eds. *CIG* I 81 + Add. p. 897\*; Hicks, *GIBM* I 8; *IG II<sup>2</sup> 58* + Add. p. 657. Autopsy Lambert 2018. In store. *Figs.* 8.1, 8.2.

		<i>vac.</i> 0.025	
ca. 403-390 BC		[Εὐδράμω]ν ἔγραμμάτ- <i>vac.</i>	
		[εὐεν Ἀχε]ρδόσιος. <i>vac.</i>	
		[ <i>vac.</i> 7?] <i>vac.</i>	
		[ἔδοξεν τ]ῇι βολῇι· Πανδιο- stoich. 20	
		[νὺς ἐπρυ]τάνευεν· Εὐξίθε-	
5		[ος ἐπεστά]τε· Εὐδράμων ἐγ-	
		[ραμμάτευ]εν Ἀχερδόσιος·	
		[... <sup>7</sup> ... εἰ]πε· ἐπαινέσαι	
		[... <sup>9</sup> ... Ἀ]ργεῖον [... <sup>4</sup> ...]	
		-----	

Rest. Hicks after Boeckh. I have corrected the misleading arrangement of the lines in *IG II<sup>2</sup> || Before* l. 1 [ἐπὶ - - ἄρχοντος] Hicks (see below) || 8 Ἀργ[ε]ῖον Wilhelm in *IG II<sup>2</sup> Add.* (“consentit ect.”), Ἐρ[ε]σ[ι]ον Kirchner after Hicks. The top horizontal of E is just visible (see *fig.* 8.1).

Eudramon of Acherdous | was secretary. | The Council decided. Pandionis | was the prytany. Euxitheos | (5) was chairman. Eudramon | of Acherdous was secretary. | - proposed; to praise | - of Argos . . .

It cannot be ruled out that the upper moulding was inscribed with the archon’s or honorand’s name, but given that the decree already has a superscript, stating the name of the secretary, inscribed on the body of the stele (ll. 1-2), it is not very likely that there was a second superscript above it. This is probably, therefore, a case where the archon’s name was omitted from both superscript and prescript. Henry 1977, 21, notes three parallels for this in the first half of the fourth century, all of them from the first quarter of the century: *IG II<sup>2</sup> 26*, 49, and 77. This is therefore a late case of a full-blown “old-style” prescript,<sup>236</sup> not including the archon’s name which had become an increasingly common feature of

<sup>235</sup> For this type of decoration at a later period see **14** with n. [356](#).

<sup>236</sup> Henry 1977, 4, Type 1. See also above, [sect. 2.3](#).

prescripts from 421 BC onwards,<sup>237</sup> or other “progressive” features, such as the number of the prytany, which is first found in [RO 10](#), of 394/3 BC. The word order name + verb + demotic for the secretary, in both the superscript and the prescript, is unusual, but not unexampled.<sup>238</sup>

The secretary, Eudramon of Acherdous, is not otherwise known. At this period he held office for one prytany only.<sup>239</sup> The alphabet is Ionic, suggesting, but not definitely implying, a date after 403 BC.<sup>240</sup> We also have -ο- for -ου- in βολῆι, l. 3, and Ἀχερδόσιος, l. 6, as commonly in the early fourth century.<sup>241</sup> Stephen Tracy advises that the style of the cutter is comparable to his “Cutter of *IG II<sup>2</sup> 1386*”, whose dated work spans the years 423/2-394/3 BC, and includes 7, but that this is not a work of that Cutter.

The other important chronological indicator is that this was a decree passed by the Council alone, ἔδοξεν τῇ βολῇι, l. 3. No inscribed decree from before 403/2 BC has this formula, while it is not uncommon in decrees of the first quarter of the fourth century. Rhodes, followed closely by Henry,<sup>242</sup> noted that all the attested cases at this period can plausibly be explained in one of two ways. In some the Council was merely authorising the inscription, or re-inscription or re-erection in the cases of damaged or destroyed stones, e.g. those destroyed by the Thirty, of honours conferred by the Assembly.<sup>243</sup> In others it seems likely that the Council decree was in fact a *probouleuma* that was ratified or amended by the Assembly in a decree originally inscribed further down the stone.<sup>244</sup> Rhodes’ and Henry’s

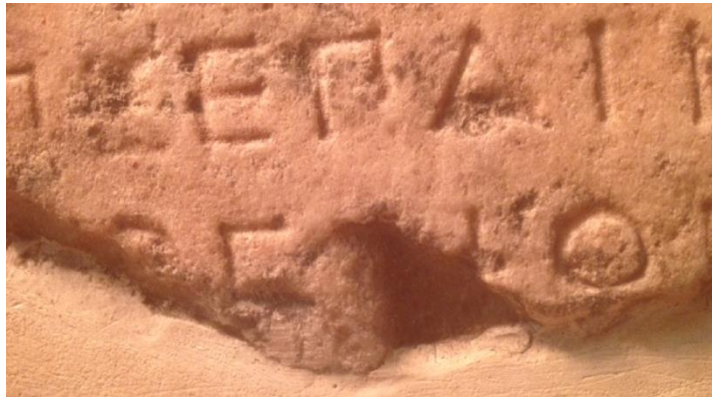


Fig. 8.1. 8, detail of line 8. Photo: S. D. Lambert.

<sup>237</sup> Cf. [IG I<sup>3</sup> 82](#) with notes.

<sup>238</sup> Henry 1977, 10.

<sup>239</sup> Cf. [sect. 2.3](#).

<sup>240</sup> Thraette I, 26-32; II, 679-85; Matthaïou 2009, 201-12; Tracy 2016, 39.

<sup>241</sup> Cf. [sect. 2.5](#).

<sup>242</sup> Rhodes 1972, 83-85, with 271; Henry 1977, 15-16.

<sup>243</sup> The cases in this category are: 1. [IG II<sup>2</sup> 6](#) = OR 177 B. Reinscription of proxeny for Eurypylos of Thasos and brothers destroyed by the Thirty. 2. II<sup>2</sup> 49. Proxeny. Men from Abydos. 3. II<sup>2</sup> 13, 399/8 BC. Proxeny. Aristas. 4. [I<sup>3</sup> 98](#) = OR 173 II. 399/8 BC. Proxeny (?). Pythophanes. 5. *Agora* XVI 33, 398-390 BC. Proxeny. 6. [II<sup>2</sup> 17](#) I = *Agora* XVI 36 = Osborne, *Naturalization* D8. 394/3 BC. Citizenship for Sthorys of Thasos. Council’s decree apparently clarifies inscribing provisions in Assembly decree below. 7. II<sup>2</sup> 32 = I<sup>3</sup> 228 fr. b + Matthaïou, *Grammateion* 2, 2013, 6. 385/4 BC. Proxeny. Archonides and Demon (might also apply to fr. a, the substantive content of which is unknown). 8. II<sup>2</sup> 63. Before 378/7 BC. Confirms for a son a proxeny held by honorand’s father. Echembrotos of Kleonai. 9. II<sup>2</sup> 77 I and II + Add. p. 658. Before 378/7 BC. Proxeny. Council acts explicitly under authority of an Assembly decree. Komaïos. 10. II<sup>2</sup> 95. 377/6 (?) BC. Proxeny for Apollonides. Not made clear that it is a reinscription; might belong under second category (see following note).

<sup>244</sup> Apart possibly from no. 10 in the previous note, there are three cases: 1. *IG II<sup>2</sup> 16* + *SEG* 62.53



two explanations, formulated in the 1970s, still seem to cover all the cases.

Either explanation might be applicable in our case. The Council might here be authorising, for example, the reinscription of a proxeny destroyed by the Thirty (see further below); or it might be making honorific provisions in a *probouleuma* which were supplemented by a rider passed in the Assembly, originally inscribed lower down on the stone. If, what is not certain, this was a straightforward honorific decree for an individual, perhaps the first (and apparently more common) explanation would be the better fit. It is also possible that creating the smoothed panel to receive the current text might have removed an earlier text previously inscribed on the same stone and that the decorative floral motif to the upper right, which is at a higher surface level than the inscribed panel, is left over from the earlier inscription.<sup>245</sup> This would be consistent with reinscription of a stone damaged by the Thirty. For a comparable reinscribing of an inscription apparently damaged by the Thirty, following erasure of the putatively “damaged” text, compare Face A of the sacrificial calendar of the city, which was reinscribed at precisely this period, [SEG 52.48A](#). Note also that, apart from [IG II<sup>2</sup> 6](#) = OR 177B, there are no less than five other extant decrees recording the re-inscribing of proxenies destroyed by the Thirty.<sup>246</sup> This is an example of the strong sense of agency ascribed to inscriptions, noted above in relation to the renewed treaty with Rhegion, 4. Demolishing the stele carrying a proxeny abolishes the proxeny, re-inscribing it recreates it; in one such case (restored, but persuasively so), the stele is actually referred to as “the proxeny.”<sup>247</sup> Perhaps in our case the proxeny (if it was such) was literally “recreated” on the same stone, which, defaced by the Thirty, was re-inscribed by the restored democracy.

This decree probably dates therefore to ca. 390s BC. We may tentatively pin down the context a little further. The closest parallels for the formulation of the surviving text of our decree are [IG II<sup>2</sup> 17](#), for Sthorys of Thasos, honoured for his services as seer at the battle of Knidos, and [RO 10](#), for Dionysios of Syracuse. Both these decrees are headed ἔδοξεν τῇ βολῇ. Like our decree, the body of the decree for Sthorys begins with the phrase, ἐπαινέσαι + honorand, and as in our decree the archon is not mentioned in the prescript, though he is named further down the stone (l. 14). The decree for Dionysios of Syracuse and his family also begins with praise of the honorands. Both these decrees date

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(Tod II 103). 394/3 BC. Alliance with Eretria. 2. [II<sup>2</sup> 18](#) = RO 10. 394/3 BC. Relations with Dionysios of Syracuse. 3. II<sup>2</sup> 157. Before 353/2 BC. Very fragmentary. It is notable that none of these three inscriptions is complete at the bottom. Since the probouleumatic formula is not attested in any decree datable to before 378/7 BC (Rhodes 1972, 248), it would seem that the attribution of a decree to the Council was sometimes in effect an early fourth-century equivalent of what was later expressed as a probouleumatic decree of the Assembly introduced by the probouleumatic formula. Probouleumatic decrees after 378/7 were also normally followed on the stone by an Assembly decree (cf. *IALD* II, 238-41).

<sup>245</sup> Reworking the original surface might also have resulted in the thin raised vertical band noted above, as well as the more irregular slightly raised horizontal band at the top of the inscribed surface, apparent on the photograph.

<sup>246</sup> I listed these at *IALD* II, 145-46: *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 52; *Agora* XVI 39; *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 9 + *SEG* 14.35 + *SEG* 32.41; *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 66c + *SEG* 14.40 + *SEG* 15.83; *Agora* XVI 37.

<sup>247</sup> [ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἦν ὁ πάππος αὐτοῦ Ξάνθιππος [πρόξενος, τὴν δὲ προξενίαν] οἱ τριάκο[ντα καθέλον], *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 52, ll. 3-5.

to 394/3 BC, the year of the battle of Knidos (the context of the decree for Sthorys) and of early moves in the Corinthian War (the apparent context of the decree for Dionysios). Argos was a party to the quadruple alliance that fought the Corinthian War, with Athens, Boeotia and Corinth.<sup>248</sup> It seems very possible that our decree belongs in the context of Athenian diplomacy with Argos in this context, and that it too dates to 394/3 BC.<sup>249</sup>

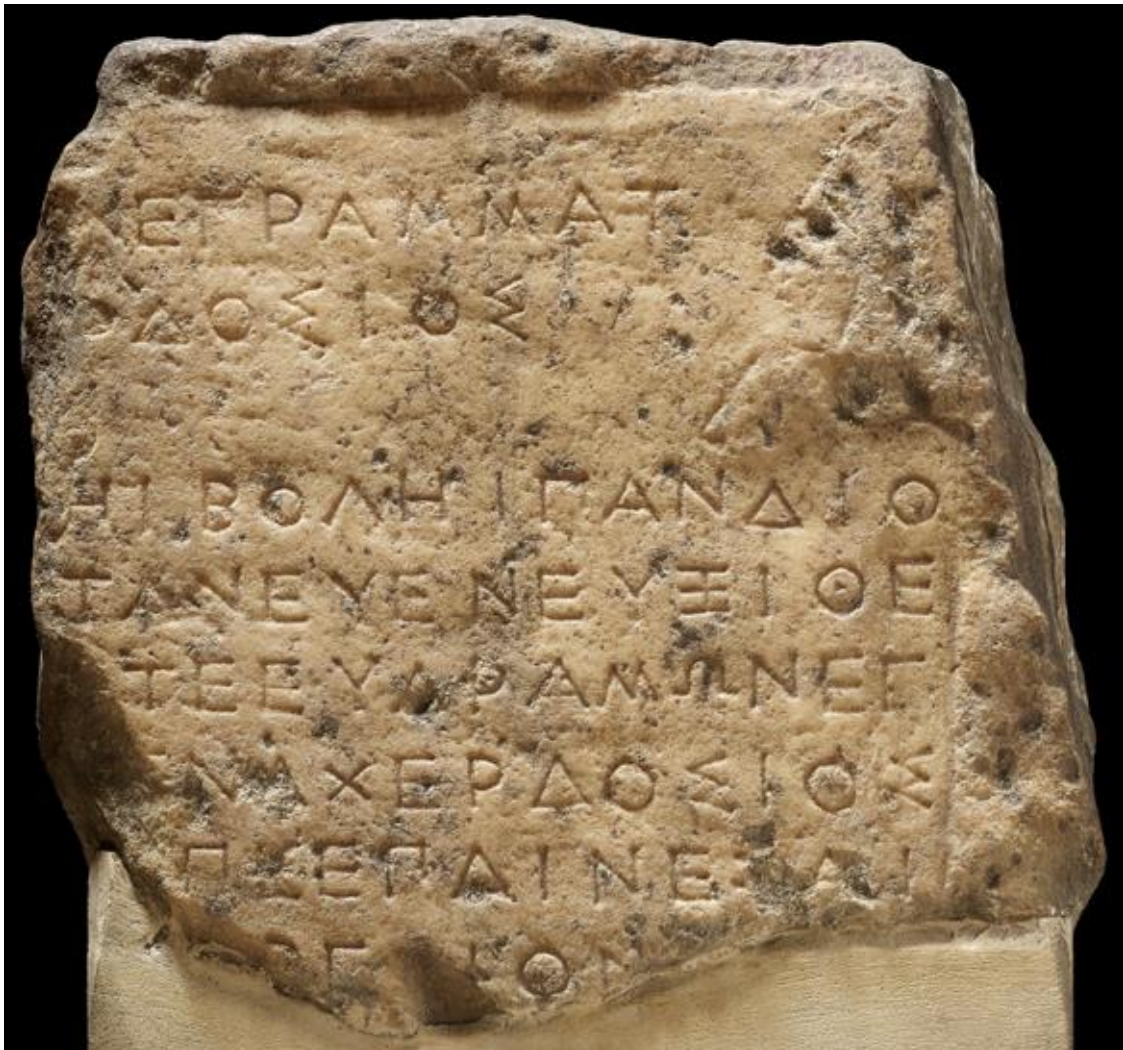


Fig. 8.2. 8 © Trustees of the British Museum.

<sup>248</sup> Diod. 14.82.1; Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.17-22, 3.15-21, 4.19, 7.2.1-4; cf. [RO 6](#) with note.

<sup>249</sup> I also note in this connection *IG II<sup>2</sup> 78*, a partially preserved proxeny decree of the first quarter of the fourth century for another man from Argos (prescript not preserved, but to judge from l. 3 it was non-probouleumatic). It seems not to belong to the same inscription as our fragment. It might or might not belong in the same political context.

**9 HONORIFIC DECREE FOR A SEER (?)**. BM 1816,0610.399. Elgin Collection (cf. [sect. 1](#)). Fragment of white marble, broken on all sides. H. 0.116, w. 0.135, th. unknown (now inserted in plaster), l. h. 0.006-0.007. Stoich. vert. 0.011, horiz. 0.011. “Cutter of *IG II<sup>2</sup> 105*”, 368-339 BC (Tracy 1995, 70).

Eds. *CIG* I 98; Hicks, *GIBM* I 10; *IG* II 97; *IG II<sup>2</sup> 192*.

Autopsy Lambert 2018. In store. *Figs.* 9.1, 9.2.

368-339 BC	[. . . π]ερὶ ὧν [ἔδοξεν . . . . . <sup>14</sup> . . . . .] [. . . .]ς ἐν τῷ[ι] δ[ή]μ[ω]ι ἔννομα ἰκετεύε(ι)ν), [ἐψ]ηφίσθαι τῇι βο[λῇι προσαγαγεῖν α]- [ύτ]ὸν ἐς τὸν δ[ή]μον [ἐς τὴν πρώτην ἐκκλ]- 5 [ησί]αν τὸς π[ρο]έδρ[ους οἱ ἂν τυγχάνωσ]- [ιν] προεδρεύ[ο]ντ[ες, γνώμην δὲ ξυμβάλ]- [λεσ]θαι τῆς βουλ[ῆς ἐς τὸν δῆμον ὅτι δ]- [οκε]ῖ τῇι βουλῇ[ι, ἐπαινέσαι . . . <sup>5</sup> . . . τὸ]- [ν ? μ]άντιν τ[. . . . . <sup>14</sup> . . . . . καὶ στεφ]- 10 [αν]ῶσα[ι - - - - -]	stoich. 29
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Rest. Koehler. In l. 8 the letters ΛΗ are raised up in the stoichos || 1. 2 A. Wilhelm, *CRAI* 1900, 529-30 [= *Kl. Schriften* II, IV, 95-96]. 1-2 ὁ μάντι]ς or ethnic Lambert || 8-10 Lambert, cf. [IG II<sup>2</sup> 17](#) and 24, or a name in -μαντιν (see below). [. . .]NTIN<sup>-</sup> previous eds., ἐ]άν τινε[ς Hiller in *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, but the last letter is T or I (zeta) || 10 [. . .]Σ<sup>^</sup> previous eds.

. . . | . . . Concerning the lawful supplication | that it was decided that *name* [the seer?] made in the Assembly, | the Council shall decide, that the | (5) presiding committee who happen | to preside shall introduce him to the People at the next Assembly, | and submit the opinion of the Council to the People that | it seems good to the Council to praise *name* the | seer (*or name* -mantis) . . . and | (10) crown him . . . | . . .

The date is determined by the attribution of this inscription to Tracy’s “Cutter of *IG II<sup>2</sup> 105*”, whose dated work spans the years 368 to 339 BC.<sup>250</sup> Ll. 3-8 are from the probouleumatic formula which recorded the resolution of the Council to forward a *probouleuma* to the Assembly. Its inclusion shows that this decree was “probouleumatic”, i.e. represented the approval by the Assembly of the Council’s *probouleuma*.<sup>251</sup>

<sup>250</sup> Angelos Matthaiou kindly advises that three inscriptions have been added to the dossier of this Cutter since the publication of Tracy 1995: *IG II<sup>2</sup> 216 + 261*; *IG II<sup>2</sup> 227*; and *Grammateion* 7, 2018, 18-21; and that our fragment does not belong to the same inscription as any of these.

<sup>251</sup> On this see [sect. 2.2](#). *IALD* II, 236-45, shows that in this period such decrees were rather commonly followed on the stone by a rider passed by the Assembly.



As convincingly restored by Wilhelm, ll. 1-2, also formulaic, show that the substance of the *probouleuma* was a “supplication” (*hiketeusis*).<sup>252</sup> Such supplications could be made to the Council or the Assembly. In this case the supplication had been made in the first instance to the People and, the implication is, referred to the Council for it to formulate a suitable resolution on the case for consideration by the Assembly. In the literary evidence *hiketeusis*, involving laying a bough of supplication on an altar, is attested for Athenian citizens,<sup>253</sup> but in all other cases of this procedure in inscriptions the supplicants were foreigners, including envoys,<sup>254</sup> political exiles seeking refuge at Athens,<sup>255</sup> and foreigners already resident at Athens.<sup>256</sup> In a case from the restored democracy after 307/6 BC, the supplicant is an Athenian public slave.<sup>257</sup>

What is granted the supplicant varies from case to case. For the Abderan exiles it is protection and hospitality in the city hall (*prytaneion*), augmented by a rider to include permission to reside at Athens on favourable terms. In the case of the merchants of Kition it is the right to acquire a plot of land on which to found a sanctuary of Aphrodite in the Piraeus. For the sailor Asklepiodoros, it is a grant of *isoteleia* (right to be taxed equally with Athenians). The substance of what was granted to the public slave is unfortunately not preserved.

[IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 302](#), of 346/5 BC, is the earliest firmly dated epigraphical attestation of the procedure, though [IG II<sup>2</sup> 404](#) (for Kean envoys) may be earlier. Zelnick-Abramowitz is inclined to minimise the substantive differences between *hiketeusis* and applications to the Council and Assembly described by different terms, such as *aiteusis*.

My new reading of ll. 8-10 enables a little progress to be made with the identification of the honorand. The only other seer (*mantis*) attested in fourth-century Athenian decrees is Sthorys of Thasos, awarded the Athenian



Fig. 9.1. 9, detail of lower left. Photo: S. D. Lambert.

<sup>252</sup> On *hiketeusis* see Zelnick-Abramowitz 1998 especially 562-69. One Assembly in each prytany was dedicated to such cases according to *Ath. Pol.* 43.6.

<sup>253</sup> Dem. 18.107; Aeschin. 1.104; 2.15. At Xen. *Hell.* 2.3.52 Theramenes is seeking to avoid execution by Kritias, and grasps the altar in the Council chamber: ἐγὼ δ' ... ἰκετεύω τὰ πάντων ἐννομώτατα. This echoes the formulaic wording used of foreign suppliants in decrees and Zelnick-Abramowitz notes that at this point Theramenes' name had been erased from the register of citizens.

<sup>254</sup> [IG II<sup>2</sup> 404](#), for Kean envoys.

<sup>255</sup> As e.g. Dioskourides of Abdera and his brothers in 346/5 BC, [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 302](#), and probably also Archippos of Thasos in 333/2 BC, [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 333](#) II.

<sup>256</sup> As e.g. the Kitian merchants in 333/2 BC, seeking permission to found their sanctuary of Aphrodite, [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 337](#), and Asklepiodoros in 337/6 BC?, who had served in the Athenian navy, [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 418](#).

<sup>257</sup> [IG II<sup>2</sup> 502](#), as revised by Oliver 2009, 111-24 (see AIO), of 302/1 BC.

citizenship in [IG II<sup>2</sup> 17](#) for his services at the battle of Knidos.<sup>258</sup> He is also mentioned a few years later, ca. 388/7 BC, when he was apparently sent by the Athenians on a mission to his native Thasos.<sup>259</sup> Our inscription dates 20-50 years later than that, and Sthorys' name does not suit the lacuna in l. 8, but it is not implausible that, some years later, the Athenians favourably considered a supplication by another seer. There is evidence for seers at Athens enjoying the privilege of perpetual dining rights (*sitesis*) in the city hall (*prytaneion*). Lykourgos records that Athens granted the significantly named mythical figure, Kleomantis of Delphi, and his descendants, this privilege for giving king Kodros the advice that enabled him to save the city by an act of self-sacrifice;<sup>260</sup> the well-known fifth-century seer Lampon is also said to have enjoyed the privilege;<sup>261</sup> and it has been attractively suggested that provision for such grants may have been included in the fifth-century Assembly decree which regulated awards of *sitesis*.<sup>262</sup> One possibility is that the honorand of our decree had used the “supplication” procedure to file an application for *sitesis* under the terms of one of these provisions, e.g. based on the claim that he was a “descendant” of Kleomantis.<sup>263</sup>

Alternatively the honorand may have had a name in -μαντις. The *LGPN* online database records thirteen names with this termination, the most common of which is Κλεόμαντις, but there are also four instances of the simple name Μάντις. If we read any of these names, however, we are left with an awkward gap after ἐπαινέσαι in l. 8.<sup>264</sup> ἐπαινέσαι μὲν is possible,<sup>265</sup> but *LGPN* lists no name . . .<sup>5</sup> . . . μαντις.

<sup>258</sup> [IG II<sup>2</sup> 17](#) = *AIO* 1240, 3: ἐπαινέσαι Σθόρυν [τὸν μάντιν (?). See *AIO*'s notes thereto for further discussion, links and bibliography.

<sup>259</sup> *IG II<sup>2</sup> 24*, 12-14: ἐ||πιχεροτονῆσαι δὲ ἄ[ρχον]τα ἐ[ς Θάσον αὐτίκα] | μάλα, καὶ μάντιν Σθό[ρυν] . . .

<sup>260</sup> Lykourgos 1.87. Cf. Humphreys 2004, 104 n. 65; Blok and van't Wout 2018, 192. In a variation on this theme a “real-life” seer, whose name is unrecorded, is said to have sacrificed his life in fulfilment of his own prophecy, supporting Thrasyboulos and the democrats from Phyle at the battle of Mounichia in 403 BC, Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.18-19, cf. [AIO 1240](#) with notes.

<sup>261</sup> Schol. Ar. *Peace* 1084a-b, cf. Ar. *Peace* 1084-1085; Blok and van't Wout 2018, 193; [IG I<sup>3</sup> 131](#), ll. 9-11 with *AIO*'s note. Lampon proposed the rider of OR 141.

<sup>262</sup> [IG I<sup>3</sup> 131](#), ll. 9-11, with Blok and van't Wout 2018, 191-94.

<sup>263</sup> The Assembly in due course awarded perpetual *sitesis* posthumously to Lykourgos himself and the application of Lykophron to enjoy this privilege as Lykourgos' eldest son is preserved at [Plut.] *Lives of the Ten Orators* 851f-852e (see [AIO 871](#)).

<sup>264</sup> The longest are Ἀλκιδάμαντις and Ἀριστόμαντις. The possibility of two names is ruled out by the singular, αἰὲς τὸν, in ll. 3-4.

<sup>265</sup> Cf. e.g. *IG II<sup>2</sup> 2*.

3. The Inscriptions. 9 *Honorific Decree for a Seer (?)*

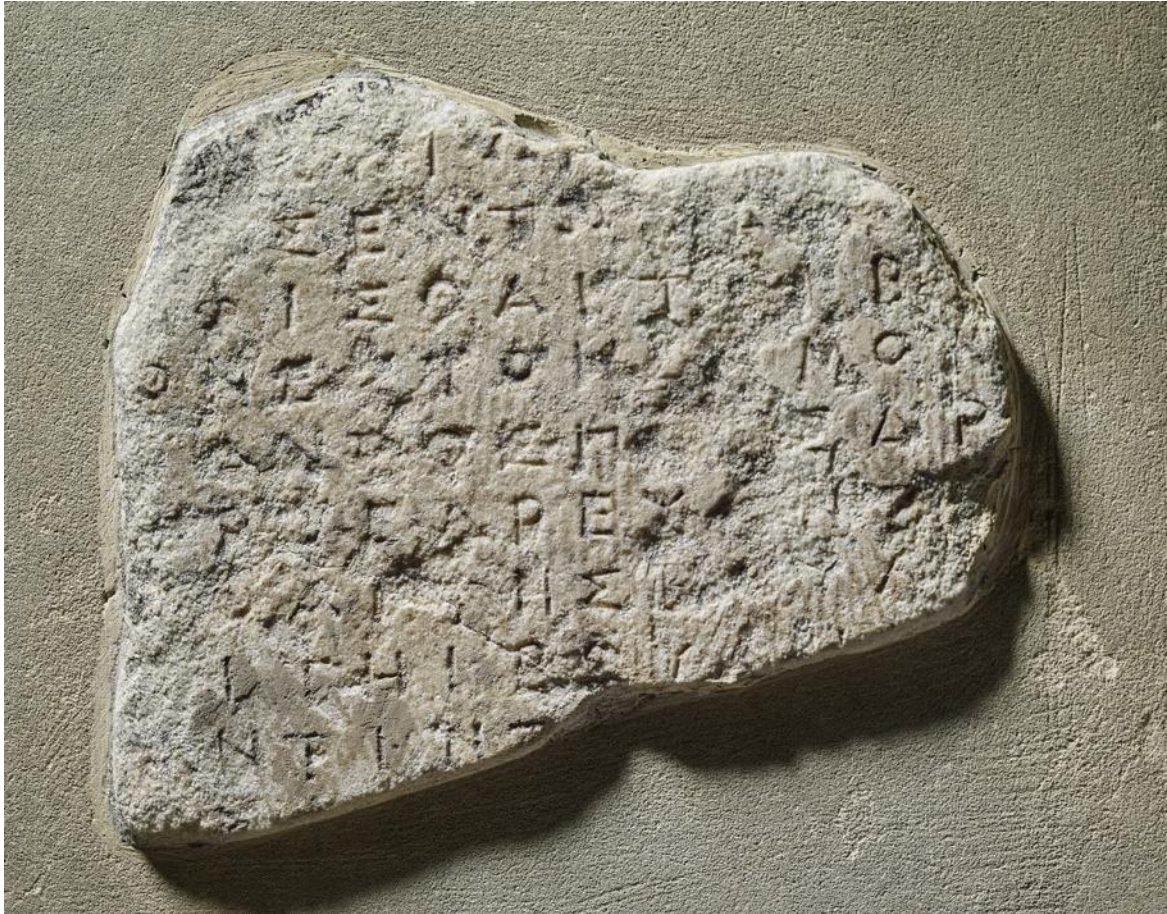


Fig. 9.2. 9 © Trustees of the British Museum.



**10** HONORIFIC DECREE WITH RELIEF. BM 1973,0330.3. Elgin collection? (see [sect. 1](#)). Upper left corner of a stele of white marble, preserving a relief depicting Athena crowning a man. H. 0.45, w. 0.24, th. 0.125, l. h. (l. 1) 0.009, (l. 2) 0.013.

Ed. *IG II<sup>3</sup>* 1, 395 (ph.).

Cf. Smith 1892, 356 no. 773; Meyer 1989, 288 A 79 (ph.); Lawton 137 (ph.); S. D. Lambert, *ZPE* 159, 2007, 122 (= *IALD* 171) n. 127; *IALD* 404. Autopsy Lambert (for *IG II<sup>3</sup>*). In store. *Fig.* 10.1.

c. 350-325 BC      Ἀθ[ηνᾶ]      on epistyle

*Relief*

θ [ε ο ἰ]      on moulding

-----

Rest. Lambert (*IG II<sup>3</sup>*).

Athena.

*Relief*

Gods.

-----

From the second half of the fifth century to the beginning of the third century BC, inscribed decrees (and other types of inscribed document) were sometimes decorated with relief sculpture.<sup>266</sup> At one level these reliefs clearly functioned as visual signals, complementing the text, cognate in that sense with features such as headings in larger letters naming e.g. the honorand or an official associated with the decree, or inscribed or painted crowns.<sup>267</sup> There is lively discussion, however, about what exactly the reliefs

<sup>266</sup> See especially the authoritative catalogue of such reliefs in Attica compiled by Lawton (for Greece more broadly see Meyer 1989). These reliefs are comparable to reliefs found on dedications (for inscribed dedications in the British Museum see *AIUK* 4.5, for votive reliefs in general see most recently *Agora XXXVIII*), and across about the same period of time (late-fifth to late-fourth century) funerary monuments (cf. for those in the BM, *AIUK* 4.6, and in general, [AIUK 3](#), pp. 31-33). Connections across the genres are sometimes apparent in specific stylistic similarities, such as the occasional use on document reliefs of the “hand-shake” motif (*dexiosis*), very common on funerary monuments and signifying intimacy between the parties, e.g. on the relief of the stele inscribed with Athenian decrees honouring the Samians at the end of the Peloponnesian War, [AIO 796](#) = Lawton 12, cf. Elsner 2015. The relief on [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 298](#) = Lawton 35, for the rulers of the Bosporan kingdom (on which see further below on [12](#) and Braund 2019), also echoes the type of family group commonly portrayed on funerary monuments (noted, *IALD* II, 37).

<sup>267</sup> Cf. [sect. 2.3](#).

signified and their relationship to the inscribed texts.<sup>268</sup> This last issue can not be addressed in any detail with this example, since in common with the two other Athenian document reliefs in the British Museum (*figs.* 10.2 and 10.3) and many other such reliefs in European Museums, they have become separated from the inscribed body of the stele to which they once belonged.<sup>269</sup> Sometimes the relief preserves a bit of the inscribed text at the top of the stele; but not infrequently, as with these three examples collected by Elgin, none of the main text survives.<sup>270</sup>

This relief depicts a standing Athena, named on the epistyle above, crowning a male human figure, characteristically depicted in much smaller scale. From this it can be inferred that the relief is from the top of an Athenian Assembly decree honouring at least one man; parallels would suggest he was a foreigner. It is clear that in some sense Athena in such scenes represents, or personifies, the city of Athens,<sup>271</sup> though, like the heading, “gods”, which also occurred on this inscription, such depictions clearly also go beyond mere symbolism, asserting divine agency in the honorific process.<sup>272</sup> The religious character of most of the reliefs is also consonant with the typical location of inscribed decrees in religious sanctuaries.<sup>273</sup> Other honorands and/or divine figures were probably depicted in the lost part of the relief to the right. It can be dated stylistically to the third quarter of the fourth century BC (Lawton).

The scenes on the other two document reliefs in the Elgin collection, neither of which preserves any inscribed labels or other text, are rather similar. In fact in its design BM 1816,0610.371 = Lawton 131,<sup>274</sup> also of the third quarter of the fourth century, is a mirror image of our relief, depicting Athena (to the right) crowning a male (*fig.* 10.2); while BM 1816,0610.375 = Lawton 124,<sup>275</sup> of the mid-to-third-quarter of the fourth

<sup>268</sup> For recent contributions see e.g. Elsner 2015, focussing on [AIO 796](#) = Lawton 12; Mack 2018; Simonton forthcoming.

<sup>269</sup> It is not usually clear whether this was a consequence of reworking of the inscription for secondary use, or because the reliefs were regarded by early modern collectors as pieces of sculpture in their own right and as such were separated from the rest of the stele.

<sup>270</sup> Another example is the relief on fr. a of [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 312](#) (Lawton 36), transported to Venice in 1760 (first edition, Paciaudi 1761), not because, as was recognised only much later, it is apparently the only extant inscribed decree proposed by Demosthenes, but for the interest of its relief sculpture (see Lambert 2001).

<sup>271</sup> For another representation of Athena on a decree relief in a UK collection dating to the same period, cf. [AIUK 3 \(Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge\), no. 2](#). As in this case the deity is labelled on the epistyle above.

<sup>272</sup> Emphasised by Mack 2018. Perhaps “willing” divine agency would be a more appropriate way to describe it, given the strong agency attributed generally to inscriptions (noted on [4](#) and [8](#) above). Cf. *IALD* II 26 and the comparison made there with the agency of the curse tablet. On the heading “gods” cf. [4](#) with commentary, and for recent discussion Mack 2018.

<sup>273</sup> Cf. [sect. 2.6](#). Conversely in [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 298](#) = Lawton 35, for the rulers of the Bosporan kingdom, in which, unusually, there is no divine figure in the relief, the stele was not erected in a religious sanctuary. It displays a family group and was erected in the Piraeus. See further below on [12](#), Braund 2019.

<sup>274</sup> *Description of the Collection of Ancient Marbles in the British Museum* IX (1842), 157, pl. 36, *fig.* 1 = Smith 1892, no. 772 = Meyer 1989, 291-92 A 92.

<sup>275</sup> *Description*, 154-55, pl. 35, *fig.* 4 = Smith 1892, no. 771 = Meyer 1989, 303 A 135.

3. *The Inscriptions. 10 Honorific Decree with Relief*

century BC, depicts Athena (to the right) and another divine figure, perhaps a patron deity or hero of the honorand's city,<sup>276</sup> crowning a male (*fig. 10.3*).



*Fig. 10.1. 10* © Trustees of the British Museum.

<sup>276</sup> For depiction of patron deities of the honorand's city cf. [7](#) above (very fragmentary, Salamis?), [AIUK 3, no. 2](#) ([Mene?]laos, representing Sparta?).

3. The Inscriptions. **10** *Honorific Decree with Relief*



*Fig. 10.2.* BM 1816,0610.371 = Lawton 131 © Trustees of the British Museum.



*Fig. 10.3.* BM 1816,0610.375 = Lawton 124 © Trustees of the British Museum.



**11** HONOURS FOR ASANDROS OF MACEDON. BM 1816,0610.187. Elgin collection (see [sect. 1](#)). This is the upper section of a decree the lower part of which is in the British School at Athens (BSA E1). Seen by Chandler in 1765-6 in the floor of a Turkish house on the Acropolis (Chandler 1774, xxii with 50 no. 11), the fragment was acquired by Elgin in 1801 or shortly thereafter and formed part of his collection transferred to the British Museum in 1816. Edited separately by Boeckh in 1828 (*CIG* I 105 + Add. p. 900\*), Hicks in 1874 (*GIBM* I 14) and Koehler in 1877 (*IG* II 234), it was recognised by Wilhelm as belonging to the same inscription as the BSA fragment (*ABSA* 7, 1900-1, 156-62 [= *KL. Schriften* II, 3, 78-84]) and was edited together with it by Kirchner in 1913 (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 450, see also *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 320), by M. Osborne in 1981-83 in his collection of decrees awarding Athenian citizenship (*Naturalization in Athens*, D42), and by Lambert in his 2000 edition of the inscriptions in the BSA (*ABSA* 95, 486-89, E1) with brief commentary, and in 2018 with a fuller commentary in [AIUK 2 \(British School at Athens\)](#), 3-13 no. 1. The inscription is notable as the only substantially preserved decree of the Athenian Assembly surviving from the regime of Demetrios of Phaleron, who controlled Athens in the interest of Kassandros 317-307 BC, and apart from the fragmentary [7](#), as the first extant inscribed decree from Athens awarding a statue. For a recently discovered inscription of the Carian city Pidasa, 321/0 BC, which enhances our understanding of Asandros' position in Caria, see P. Brun, K. Konuk et al., *Revue des Études Anciennes* 117, 2015, 371-409. Reproduced below for ease of reference are the text, translation and image from [AIUK 2](#), q.v. for textual apparatus and full discussion. *Fig. 11*.

314/3 BC	<b>a</b>	ἐπὶ Νικοδώρου ἄρχοντος ὕ ἐπὶ τῆς Κεκροπίδος <sup>VII</sup> ἔκτη- ς πρυτανείας· Γαμηλιῶνος ένδεκάτη, ἔκτη καὶ εἴκο- 5 στῇ τῆς πρυτανείας· ἐκκλη- σία· τῶμ προέδρων ἐπεψήφι- ζεν Ἀριστοκράτης Ἀριστο- δήμου Οἶν(αῖος) <sup>VIII or IX</sup> καὶ συμπρόεδρο- 10 ι· Θρασυκλῆς Ναυσικράτο[υ]- ς Θριάσι(ος) εἶπεν· δεδόχθαι τ- ῶι δήμῳ Ἀσανδρον Ἀγάθων- ος Μακεδόνα ἐπαινέσαι ὅτ- 15 ι ἐστὶν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἰδίαι τε περὶ Ἀθηναίους τοὺς ἀφ- ικνουμένους εἰς τὴν χώρα- ν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ κοινεῖ περ- ὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων, κ- 20 αὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν πόλιν τὰς τε ναῦς τὰς ἰδία- ς καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας παρ- [εἶχε]ν Ἀθ[η]ν[α]ίο[ι]ς εἰς τὰς χ-	stoich. 21
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3. The Inscriptions. *II Honours for Asandros of Macedon*

[ρείας - - - - -]ρ  
*lacuna*

**b** [. . .<sup>5</sup>. .]ας [ε]ἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀπ-  
[έστ]ειλαγ τέλεσ[ι τ]οῖς [αὐτ]-  
25 [οὔ]· δοῦναι δὲ αὐτῶι καὶ [σίτ]-  
ησιν ἐμ πρυτανείωι καὶ [πρ]-  
οεδρίαν ἐν ἅπασι τοῖς ἀγῶ-  
σιν τοῖς τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐ[κ]-  
γόνων τῶι πρεσβυτάτῳ· ε[ἰ]-  
30 ναι δὲ αὐτῶι καὶ εἰκόνα στ-  
ῆσαι ἑαυτοῦ χαλκῆν ἐφ' ἵππ-  
ου ἐν ἀγορᾷ ὅπου ἂμ βούλη-  
ται πλὴν παρ' Ἀρμόδιον καὶ  
Ἀριστογείτονα.  
*vac. 0.198*

In the archonship of Nikodoros (314/3), | in the sixth prytany, | of Kekropis; on the  
eleventh | of Gamelion, the twenty-sixth | (5) of the prytany. Assembly. | Of the presiding  
committee | Aristokrates son of Aristodemos of Oinoe was putting to | the vote and his  
fellow presiding committee members. | Thrasykles son of Nausikrates | (10) of Thria  
proposed: the People | shall decide to praise Asandros | son of Agathon of Macedon,  
because | he is a good man individually | towards Athenians who come to | (15) his own  
country, and | collectively towards the | Athenian People, and | on visiting the city he |  
provided his own ships | (20) and soldiers to the Athenians | to meet their needs . . . |  
*Uncertain number of lines missing* | . . . returned them to their own | land at his own  
expense; | (25) and to grant him also dining | rights in the city hall and | priority seating in  
all the city's | competitions, and for his | eldest descendant; and | (30) he shall be permitted  
to set up | a bronze likeness of himself on | horseback in the Agora wherever he | wishes  
except beside Harmodios and | Aristogeiton.



3. The Inscriptions. 11 Honours for Asandros of Macedon



Fig. 11. 11 b (= BSA E1) below 11 a (= BM 1816,0610.187  
© Trustees of the British Museum).

**12** HONOURS FOR SPARTOKOS OF THE BOSPORAN KINGDOM. EM 7382 (*a*), BM 1816,0610.347 (Elgin collection, cf. [sect. 1](#)) (*b*). *a* Acropolis, east of the Parthenon 1836, *b* Acropolis (Chandler, 51; cf. xxiii, in the floor of the portico of the Turkish mosque, 1765-6). Two non-joining fragments of a stele of bluish marble, associated by Ludwig Ross. *a* left side and back preserved, h. 0.59, w. 0.44, th. 0.15, *b* left and right sides, bottom and back preserved, h. 1.027, w. 0.58, th. 0.145. L. h. 0.006-0.007 (O 0.005). Stoich. vert. 0.0145, horiz. 0.0145. “Cutter of Agora I 4266”, ca. 304-271 BC (Tracy 1995, 166). On the lettering see also [sect. 2.5](#).

Major editions of *b*: Chandler 1774, 51 no. 12, with xxiii; *CIG* I 107 + Add. pp. 900-1\*; of *a* and *b*: J. Franz, *Elementa epigraphices Graecae* (1840), 175-79 no. 69; Rangabé 1855, no. 446; Hicks, *GIBM* I 15; *IG* II 311; *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 653 + Add. p. 662; *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 370; W. Ameling et al., *Schenkungen hellenistischer Herrscher an griechische Städte und Heiligtümer, I Zeugnisse und Kommentare* (1995), 74-77 K no. 34 [E]; *IG* II<sup>3</sup> 1, 870 (ph.).

Cf. A. Wilhelm, *GGA* 1903, 788 [= *Kl. Schriften* II 4, 286]; Wilhelm 2006, 189-90 n. 14; *SdA* III 401; S. Burstein, *Historia* 27, 1978, 428-36; P. Gauthier, *REG* 92, 1979, 348-99, at 370 n. 40; Osborne, *Naturalization* T21 (*SEG* 33.111); H. Heinen, in P. Carlier ed., *Le IV<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C. Approches historiographiques* (1996), 357-68 (*SEG* 47.131); Löhr 2000, 131-32 no. 150, 145-46 no. 165; H. Kotsidu, Τιμή καὶ δόξα. *Ehrungen hellenistischer Herrscher* (2000), 93-94, no. 42; H. Heinen, in V. Cojocaru ed., *Ethnic Contacts and Cultural Exchanges North and West of the Black Sea from the Greek Colonization to the Ottoman Conquest* (2005), 109-25 (*SEG* 56.185); Oliver 2007, 231, 253-54; Müller 2010, 233-47. Autopsy Lambert 2018 (*b*). In store. Fig. 12 (*b*).

285/4 BC	<b>a</b>	[ἐπὶ Δ]ιοτίμου ἄρχοντος, ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντι[γονίδος <sup>1</sup> ἐ]– stoich. 36-38 [βδό]μης πρυτανείας, ἥι Λυσίστρατο[ς Ἀριστομά]– [χου] Παιανιεύς <sup>v</sup> ἐγραμμάτευσεν· Γα[μηλιῶνος ἐνεῖ] [καὶ] νέαι· ἐνάτη καὶ εἰ[κο]στῇ τῇ[ς πρυτανείας]· 5 [ἐκκ]λησία· τῶν προέδρω[ν ἐπε]ψ[ήφισεν – <sup>7-8</sup> – –] [. . .]οσθένου Ξυπετ[αιῶν <sup>II</sup> καὶ συμπρόεδροι· ἔδο]– [ξε]ν τῷ δήμῳ· Ἀγύρ[ριος Καλλιμέδοντος Κολλυ]– τεὺς εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ [πρότερόν τε οἱ πρόγονοι οἱ] Σπαρτόκου χρείας [παρέσχοντο τῷ δήμῳ καὶ] 10 νῦν Σπάρτοκος πα[ραλαβὼν τὴν εἰς τὸν δῆμον οἰ]– κειότητα κοινῇ [τε τῷ δήμῳ χρείας παρέχε]– ται καὶ ἰδία Ἀθη[ναίων τοῖς ἀφικνουμένοις] πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀνθ’[ῶν καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων αὐτοὺς] πολίτας ἐποίη[σατο καὶ ἐτίμησ]εν [εἰκόσιν χαλ]– 15 καῖς ἐν τε τῇ [ἀγορᾷ καὶ] ἐν τῷ ἐμπορίῳ [καὶ] ἄλλαις δωρεα[ῖς, αἷς προσή]κει τιμᾶσθαι τοῦ[ς] ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρ[ας, καὶ διέθε?]το, ἐάν τις βαδίζε[ι] ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τ[ὴν τῶν προγόνω]ν αὐτοῦ ἢ τὴν Σπα[ρ]– τόκου, βοηθε[ῖν παντὶ σθένε]ι κ[α]ὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ 20 κατὰ θάλατ[αν· ἔτι δὲ Σπάρτ]οκος ἀφικομένης πρεσβείας [παρ’ Ἀθηναίων ἀκ]ούσας, ὅτι ὁ δῆμος
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**b**

- κεκόμιστ[αι τὸ ἄστυ, συνήσ]θη τοῖς εὐτυχίμασ[ι]  
 τοῦ δή[μ]ο[υ καὶ δέδωκεν σίτ]ου δωρεὰν μυρίου[ς]  
 καὶ πε[ντακισχιλίους με]δίμνους, ἐπαγγέλλε[τ]–  
 25 [αι δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν χρ]εῖαν παρέξεσθαι τῷ[ι]  
 [δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων καθό]τι ἂν δύνηται, καὶ ταῦ–  
 [τα πράττει προαιρούμε]ος διαφυλάττειν τὴν  
 [εὐνοίαν τὴν εἰς τὸν δῆμ]ον τὴν παραδεδομένην  
 [αὐτῷ παρὰ τῶν προγόνω]ν· ὅπως ἂν οὖν φαίνεται  
 30 [καὶ ὁ δῆμος φιλοτιμού]μενος πρὸς τοὺς εὖνους  
 [διὰ τοῦ ἔμπροσθεν χρ]όνου διαμεμενηκότας αὐ–  
 [τῷ, ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ, δε]δόχθαι τῷ δήμῳ· ἐπ[αινέ]–  
 [σαι μὲν τὸν βασιλέ]α Σπάρτοκον Εὐμήλου –<sup>5-6</sup>–  
 [–<sup>c. 5-6</sup>– καὶ στεφανῶ]σαι χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ [κατὰ]  
 35 [τὸν νόμον ἀρετῆς] ἔνεκα καὶ εὐνοίας ἣν ἔχω[ν δι]–  
 [ατελεῖ πρὸς τὸν] δῆμον, καὶ ἀνειπεῖν τὸν στέ[φα]–  
 [νον Διονυσίω]ν τῶν μεγάλων τραγωιδῶν ἐν τῷ  
 [ἀγῶνι· τῆς δὲ π]οιήσεως τοῦ στεφάνου καὶ τῆς ἀ–  
 [ναγορεύσεως] ἐπιμεληθῆναι τοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ διο[ι]–  
 40 [κῆσει· στήσαι] δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰκόνα χαλκῇν ἐν τῇ[ι]  
 [ἀγορᾷ παρὰ] τοὺς προγόνους καὶ ἑτέραν ἐ[ν . . .]  
 [–<sup>c. 5-6</sup>– ὅπω]ς ἂν δὲ καὶ εἰδῇ ὁ βασιλεὺς Σπάρτ[ο]–  
 [κος τὰ ἐψηφ]ισμένα τῷ<ι> δήμῳ, χειροτονῆσαι πρέ–  
 [σβεις τρεῖς] ἄνδρας ἐξ Ἀθηναίων ἀπάντων, οἵτι–  
 45 [νες αἶρεθ]έντες ἀπαροῦσιν καὶ τό τε ψήφισμα ἀ–  
 [ποδώσου]σιν καὶ ἀπανγελοῦσι τὴν εὐνοίαν ἣν  
 [ἔχει πρὸς] αὐτὸν ὁ δῆμος, καὶ παρακαλοῦσιν αὐ–  
 [τὸν βοηθ]εῖν τῷ δήμῳ, καθότι ἂν δύνηται· δοῦ–  
 [ναι δὲ ἐφ]όδια τῶν πρέσβειων ἐκάστῳ τὸ τετα–  
 50 [γμένον]· ὅπως ἂν δὲ καὶ ὑπόμνημα ἦι τῆς οἰκειό–  
 [τητος] καὶ τῶν δωρεῶν τῶν προστιθεμένων αὐ–  
 [τῷ πρ]ὸς ταῖς ὑπαρχούσαις, τὸν γραμματέα τὸν  
 [κατὰ] πρυτανείαν ἀναγράψαι τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα  
 [ἐν στή]λῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ στήσαι ἐν ἀκροπόλει· τὸ  
 55 [δὲ ἀ]νάλωμα τὸ γεγόμενον μερίσαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ  
 [διο]ικήσει.

vacat 0.135

[In painted crown?]

ὁ δῆμος

Sometimes two letters occupy a single stoichos (examples in preserved text in ll. 4, 18, 43, 54, 55), extending the length of a line from 36 to 37 or 38 letters. Underlined letters on *b* were read by Chandler from the stone in Athens, but have since been lost. Rest. Osborne and Byrne, *IG* II<sup>3</sup>, after

### 3. The Inscriptions. 12 Honours for Spartokos of the Bosporan Kingdom

previous eds. || 5-6 Ἀ[νδρ]οσθένου ? Osborne and Byrne, cf. [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 1008](#) l. 44, 1081 l. 4; Αὐτ]οσθένου Kirchner, cf. [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 416](#) ll. 30, 58 || 17 ὑπέσχε]το Franz, συνέθε]το K. Rigsby, *ZPE* 161, 2007, 133-34 (*SEG* 58.131), ἐψηφίσα]το Matthaiou per ep. || 31 [διὰ τοῦ σύμπαντος or σύμπαντος τοῦ χρ]όνου Wilhelm || 33-34 [ἐκ τοῦ Π|όντου or [Βοσπο|ρίτην Oliver, [Βοσπ|όριον Rangabé, Koehler, [Βοσπο|ρανὸν Wilhelm || 41-42 ἐ[ν ἀκρ|οπόλει Osborne and Byrne, *IG II<sup>3</sup>*, after previous eds., ἐ[μ Πει|ραιεῖ ? W. Mack per ep., cf. Gauthier 1979, and further below || 43 ΤΩ<sup>ν</sup> stone.

In the archonship of Diotimos (285/4), in the seventh prytany, of Antigonis<sup>l</sup>, for which Lysistratos son of Aristomachos of Paiania<sup>v</sup> was secretary. On the old and new day of Gamelion,<sup>277</sup> the twenty-ninth of the prytany.

(5) Assembly. Of the presiding committee - son of -osthenes of Xypete<sup>ll</sup> was putting to the vote and his fellow presiding committee members.

The People decided. Agyrrhios son of Kallimedon of Kollytos proposed: since both previously the ancestors of Spartokos have been of service to the People, and

(10) now Spartokos has taken on this relationship with the People and is of service both collectively to the People and individually to those Athenians who come to him, in exchange for which the Athenian People made them citizens and honoured them with bronze statues

(15) both in the Agora and the commercial area (*emporion*) and with other awards with which it is proper to honour good men, and [committed themselves?], in the event someone challenged the rule of his ancestors or of Spartokos, to help with full force both by land and

(20) by sea; and further, Spartokos, when on the arrival of an embassy from Athens he heard that the People had recovered the city, was delighted at the success of the People and gave a gift of 15,000 medimnoi of grain, and in addition declares

(25) that for the rest of time he will be of service to the Athenian People as far as he is able, and he does this with the express purpose of safeguarding the good will towards the People passed down to him from his ancestors; so that the People may be seen (30) to be honour-loving towards those who are mindful of their good will to it in earlier times, for good fortune, the People shall decide: to praise King Spartokos son of Eumelos . . .

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<sup>277</sup> I.e. the last day of the month, cf. [sect. 2.4](#). On the persons referred to in the prescript see [sect. 2.3](#).

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. . . and to crown him with a gold crown according  
(35) to the law for the excellence and good will which he continues  
to have for the People, and to announce the crown  
at the tragedy competition of the Great Dionysia;  
and the board of administrators shall manage  
the making of the crown and the announcement;  
(40) and to stand a bronze statue of him in the  
Agora alongside his ancestors and another . . . ;  
and so that King Spartokos knows  
what the People decided, to elect three  
men as ambassadors from all the Athenians, who  
(45) when chosen will set sail and both present  
the decree and announce the good will which  
the People has for him, and request him  
to help the People, as far as he is able; and they shall give  
the agreed travelling expenses to each of the ambassadors;  
(50) and so that there might be a memorial of the relationship  
and the awards to him that have been added to  
those existing already, the prytany  
secretary shall inscribe this decree  
on a stone stele and stand it on the Acropolis;  
(55) and the board of administrators shall allocate the  
expenditure accrued.

[*In painted crown?*]

The People

This is the latest of three surviving inscribed decrees of the Athenian Assembly which document the long-running relationship between Athens and members of the Spartokid dynasty which ruled the kingdom of the Cimmerian Bosporos on the north shore of the Black Sea from 438 to 110 BC, and especially in the fourth century had been crucially important for the Athenian grain supply.<sup>278</sup> With the exception of the restoration of ll. 41-42 (on which see further below), there are no significant epigraphical issues with this well-preserved decree. To understand its provisions, however, it is best considered against the background of the two earlier decrees and key literary evidence for Athens' relationship with the Spartokids.

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<sup>278</sup> For an overview of the relationship from the late 5<sup>th</sup> to the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century see Müller 2010, 233-47; in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries see Braund 2007; Moreno 2007, especially 144-208, 260-79; Engen 2010, 283-85 no. 7 (Satyros and his sons), 286-87 no. 9 (Leukon and his sons), 290-91 no. 12 (Spartokos, Pairisades and Apollonios), 307-9 no. 26 (Pairisades and his sons); in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, Oliver 2007, 253-54. The "special relationship" between Athens and the Bosporan kingdom perhaps began after the Spartan fortification of Dekeleia in 413 BC and Athens' loss of Euboea in 411 BC severely disrupted the Athenian grain supply.

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The relationship was well established by 355 BC, during the reign of Leukon son of Satyros, when Demosthenes claimed that Athens imported as much grain from the Bosporan kingdom as from all other sources combined.<sup>279</sup> At that time Athens enjoyed priority rights of grain purchase from the kingdom and exemption from its export taxes. In return the Spartokids had been awarded Athenian citizenship and exemption from Athenian taxes (*ateleia*<sup>280</sup>). Demosthenes' speech was delivered against Leptines' proposal that Athens should rescind all awards of financial privileges, and uses the Spartokids as an example for how damaging such a move would be to a relationship that was crucial for Athenian interests. A few years later, in 347/6 BC, Athens inscribed a decree, proposed by the politician and local historian, Androtion, in which the city renewed the relationship with the new rulers, Spartokos and Pairisades, who had recently succeeded their father, Leukon, [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 298](#). In this decree Athens confirmed the reciprocal arrangements that had applied to Leukon and his father Satyros, and provided for the new rulers to be crowned not just once, but uniquely at every successive Great Panathenaia.<sup>281</sup> At the same time the Assembly made arrangements to deal with claims of Spartokos and Pairisades that money was owed them (ll. 53-59), and to supply the Athenian naval personnel which the Bosporan rulers had specifically requested (ll. 59-65). The large and imposing stele, complete with decorative relief, on which Athens inscribed this decree was set up in the Piraeus, "next to the one for Satyros and Leukon" (l. 47), clearly a stele (or stelai?) which had recorded earlier Athenian grants to members of the dynasty.<sup>282</sup>

The second surviving decree, [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 462](#),<sup>283</sup> is unfortunately much more sparsely preserved. It consists of two fragments from the north slope of the Acropolis and the

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<sup>279</sup> Dem. 20.31-33. Though this may be an exaggerated claim, and there were other significant sources of supply in the fourth century (not least the Athenian-controlled islands of Lemnos, Imbros and Skyros, as the grain tax law of 374/3 BC, [RO 26](#), demonstrates) the relative importance of the Bosporan kingdom as a source of Athenian grain supply in the fourth century is clear enough (cf. Braund 2007).

<sup>280</sup> Dem. 20.29-40, cf. 34.36. Engen 2010, 284, discusses the scope of the *ateleia* enjoyed by the Bosporan rulers at Athens; see also Müller 2010, 237-38, plausibly suggesting that it was a trading privilege.

<sup>281</sup> Apollonios, apparently the younger brother of Spartokos and Pairisades, but not associated with them as rulers, is honoured with a single crown in a rider proposed by Polyuktos son of Timokrates of Krioia (ll. 65-68). The decree is discussed most recently by Braund 2019. It has conventionally been thought that, in the relief at the top of this decree (Lawton 35), the figure standing to the right of the two enthroned brothers represents Apollonios, but Braund now argues attractively that it represents their father, Leukon, signifying the continuity of the mutually beneficial arrangements in the decree from one generation of the dynasty to the next.

<sup>282</sup> Dem. 20.36 states that copies of the stele applying to Leukon were erected "by you and him", in the Piraeus, the Bosporan kingdom itself and at Hieron, a sanctuary on the Asiatic side of the Thracian Bosporos past which ships trading between Athens and the Bosporan kingdom had to sail. Cf. *IALD* II, 35-39, where it is noted that these locations may have been part of a deliberate policy by Athens and the Bosporan rulers to advertise and secure their unusual mutual trading privileges (on the importance of advertising to merchants in this way the privileges they might benefit from see Oliver 2007, 35-36; Müller 2010, 238).

<sup>283</sup> Engen 2010, 323-24, R12.



Agora, findspots which are consistent with an original location on the Acropolis, but do not rule out an original location in the Agora. In its few surviving lines it praises and crowns some men, including an Astym- and a Polysthenes, for their good services to Athenians coming to the Bosporan kingdom. It cannot be dated more precisely than about 334/3-314/3 BC, the years during which the mason who cut the inscription was active. The other main development in the years subsequent to 347/6 BC is attested by Deinarchos 1.43, who, in a speech delivered against Demosthenes in 323 BC in the context of the Harpalos affair, reveals that Demosthenes successfully proposed a decree for the erection in the Agora of honorific statues for Pairisades and his sons, Satyros and Gorgippos.<sup>284</sup> Unfortunately Deinarchos supplies no context, though it is implied that Demosthenes' proposal dated after the death of Spartokos in 344/3 BC (?), after which Pairisades was sole ruler until his death in 311/10 BC (?).<sup>285</sup> Further, [Dem.] 34.36 is evidence that in 327 BC Pairisades declared that grain exported from his kingdom to Athens was to be duty free. This apparently represents a renewal of arrangements that had applied in the 340s BC and earlier, but which had perhaps lapsed in the meantime, and Burstein suggested that Pairisades' démarche might have been linked with the award of statues at that time proposed by Demosthenes.<sup>286</sup> This would also suit the timing of grain shortages that are attested at this period in Athens and the Eastern Mediterranean more broadly.<sup>287</sup> This reconstruction is quite possible, but it is difficult to rule out other contexts for Demosthenes' proposal of statues:<sup>288</sup> the accession of Pairisades to sole rule;<sup>289</sup> or more broadly the context of tensions with Macedon over the grain supply in the lead-up to the battle of Chaironeia,<sup>290</sup> or of anxieties about the grain supply after the battle, when Demosthenes was elected grain-commissioner (*sitones*, Dem. 18.248); or the occasion (if it is separate from this period of office as *sitones*) when he is said to have donated a talent

<sup>284</sup> Since this is a speech directed against Demosthenes it is unsurprising that Deinarchos insinuates a corrupt relationship, alleging that Demosthenes received a thousand medimnoi of wheat a year from the "tyrants of Pontus". Moreno 2007, 254, plausibly suggests a connection with the allegation of Aeschines 3.171 that Demosthenes' maternal grandfather, Gylon, was exiled from Athens following his "betrayal" to "the enemy" of Nymphaion, a city in the region that belonged to the Athenian Empire, and went to the Bosporan kingdom, where he was given a place named "The Gardens" (*Kepoi*) by the "tyrants" there (cf. Dem. 28.1-4; on the Gylon incident see Braund 2003, 198-202).

<sup>285</sup> The dates are those given by R. Werner, *Historia* 4, 1955, 430. According to Osborne, *Nat.* vol. 3, p. 42, Spartokos II died in 342/1 BC and Pairisades in 309/8 BC.

<sup>286</sup> Burstein, 433. He suggests (inconclusively) that the fact that Aeschines (3.171, see n. 284) does not hold these statues against Demosthenes in 330 BC, unlike Deinarchos in 323 BC, indicates that they were awarded between 330 and 323 BC. Braund 2003, 202-205, emphasises that [Dem.] 34.36 does not necessarily imply a breach in Athens' relations with the Bosporan rulers in the years before 327 BC (on this see also Müller 2010, 238).

<sup>287</sup> See especially *IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 367*; RO 96.

<sup>288</sup> Braund 2003, 205, also notes the possibility that the statues pre-date 327 BC.

<sup>289</sup> A possibility aired by Engen 2010, 308.

<sup>290</sup> It had been Philip II's seizure of the Athenian grain fleet at Hieron in 340 BC that had triggered the war which culminated in the battle. *FGrH* 328 Philochoros F 162, *FGrH* 115 Theopompos F 292; cf. Dem. 18.87 (on Philip's ambition to control the grain trade in 341 BC); Moreno 2007, 338 (v) and (w).

for the purchase of grain.<sup>291</sup> On Burstein's dating of Demosthenes' proposal, it is possible that [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 462](#) belongs to the decree that awarded the statues;<sup>292</sup> or it might belong to a later measure, for example in a Lamian War context.<sup>293</sup>

Our much better preserved decree, the last of the three, dating to 285/4 BC, displays both illuminating continuities with, and differences from, the earlier ones.<sup>294</sup> The honorand is Spartokos III, who succeeded his father Eumelos in 304/3 BC and ruled until 284/3 BC.<sup>295</sup> The occasion of this decree, therefore, is not the succession of a new ruler, but, as it transpires from ll. 21-22, the recovery of the city by the People, an allusion to the expulsion of Demetrios Poliorketes in 288/7 BC, and the subsequent attempts by the Athenians to extend their control to the Piraeus and the Attic countryside.<sup>296</sup> In 347/6 BC, so the text of the decree passed then suggests, the initiative lay with the Bosporan rulers, to whose embassy [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 298](#) is the Athenian response. The decree studiously avoids bestowing any titles on the honorands;<sup>297</sup> and the general impression is of a diplomatic relationship between equals. In our decree, the initiative lies with the Athenians, who have approached Spartokos in the aftermath of their revolt from Demetrios. He is said to have been delighted, and receptive to Athens' request for help; and he is described explicitly as "king" (*basileus*, ll. 33 and 42). The decree of 347/6 BC is concerned with securing (or rather confirming) for the long term a mutually beneficial "special" trade relationship; in the decree of 285/4 BC the main upshot of the decree is a one-off donation of 15,000 medimnoi of grain, reminiscent not so much of the decree of 347/6 BC, as of the series of

<sup>291</sup> In the posthumous decree honouring Demosthenes proposed by his nephew, Demochares, preserved in [Plut.] *Lives of the Ten Orators* (851b).

<sup>292</sup> In that case Astym- and Polysthenes and their colleagues would have been envoys acting as go-betweens in relation to a decree concerned primarily with Pairisades and his sons, in a way similar to that in which Sosis and Theodosios were honoured as go-betweens in [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 298](#), ll. 49-53. A possible connection between the statues and this decree was first proposed by I. B. Brashinsky, "Epigraphical Evidence on Athens' Relations with the North Pontic Greek States", in *Acts of the Fifth Epigraphic Congress 1967*, 119-23. Müller, 240, observes that, though Brashinsky's textual restorations have been overtaken, the connection remains possible.

<sup>293</sup> An interesting sidelight is cast on Athenian relations with Pairisades by a proxeny awarded by him to the son of a Dionysios "of Piraeus", *CIRB* 1. The use of the Attic demotic outside Attica is unusual, but Mack 2019, 74, suggests that it is a reflection of Pairisades' self-identification in this context as an Athenian citizen by virtue of the "honorary" Athenian citizenship enjoyed by his dynasty.

<sup>294</sup> The decree is discussed also by Müller 2010, 240-41.

<sup>295</sup> Diod. 20.100.7. Werner and Osborne agree on these dates (cf. n. 285). *IG II<sup>2</sup> 1485a*, l. 22 (*SEG* 28.114), perhaps records a crown dedicated to Athena by Spartokos III towards the beginning of his reign. Cf. Oliver 2007, 252 with n. 121; Müller 2010, 240 with n. 246; Rutishauser 2014, 77-78, 69 n. 3.

<sup>296</sup> Oliver 2007, 236. The events of 288/7 BC and the following years were discussed recently also by Osborne 2012a, 36-54; J. Shear, in J. Marincola et al. eds., *Greek Notions of the Past in the Archaic and Classical Eras* (2012), 276-300.

<sup>297</sup> Hostile contemporary sources could describe them as *tyrannoi*, Aeschin. 3.171, Dein. 1.43 (but Braund 2003, 202-3, points out that the hostility in these cases is directed at Demosthenes rather than the Bosporan rulers, and questions whether "*tyrannoi*" has disparaging connotations vis-à-vis the Bosporan rulers themselves); Dem. 20.29 diplomatically describes them as archons. Cf. RO p. 322.

decrees that Athens had passed honouring grain traders in the years of weakness following Chaironeia.<sup>298</sup>

These contrasts reflect several developments, above all in Athens' relative position in the Eastern Mediterranean. In 347/6 Athens was still among the most powerful independent cities of the Greek world, challenging an emergent Macedon, and leader of a maritime alliance (albeit a smaller and weaker one since the Social War of the mid-350s BC). Between 338 and 285 BC she had been forced to adapt to a world dominated by kings, initially Philip and Alexander and then the *diadochoi*, primarily Antigonos and Demetrios, whose interests the Athenians had become used to conciliating. Spartokos was now just one king among many whose patronage Athens was seeking. Oliver has aptly emphasised that our decree belongs in a series in which Athens sought to conciliate the interests of key rulers of the Eastern Mediterranean and win them over to her side in the continuing struggle to liberate the city fully from Antigonid control.<sup>299</sup> In [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 863](#), of 286/5 BC, for example, Athens recognised the good services of Zenon, the commander of the Ptolemaic grain transports, for "taking care of the delivery of grain to the People, so that it is delivered with maximum security, making common cause for the preservation of the People" (ll. 16-19);<sup>300</sup> in [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 877](#), of 283/2 BC, Athens honoured Philippides *inter alia* because he had asked the king (Lysimachos) "to help with money and grain, so that the People may remain free and recover the Piraeus and the forts as quickly as possible" (ll. 33-36); and in decrees from a little later in the same year as ours, 285/4 BC (twelfth prytany), [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 871](#) and [872](#), Athens honoured Audoleon, king of the Paionians, and Timo-, a courtier of Audoleon, who "co-operated most zealously in the delivery of the grain" ([872](#), ll. 13-14). Like Spartokos, Audoleon was "delighted" by the Athenian success, and had donated "7500 medimnoi of grain from Macedonia at his own expense, having delivered it to the harbours of the city; and further he announces that in the future he will be of service by joining in the effort for the deliverance of the Piraeus and the freedom of the city" ([871](#), ll. 25-34).<sup>301</sup>

As will be clear from this catalogue of grain donors, a correlate of these developments was a reduction in the relative importance of the kingdom of the Bosporos for the Athenian grain supply. The decree of 347/6 BC is the only extensive Athenian decree of the decade before 338 BC which explicitly concerns the grain trade;<sup>302</sup> the decree of 285/4 BC is one of a large number from the years following the revolt from

<sup>298</sup> See [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 367](#), with the notes on AIO; *IALD* II, 100-2. Relevant decrees are now catalogued conveniently by Engen 2010, Appendix 3.

<sup>299</sup> Oliver 2007, 231, 237: more than half the decrees honouring foreigners at this period "involved (sometimes *inter alia*) assistance in the grain supply".

<sup>300</sup> A little later, in 282 BC, shortly after his succession, Ptolemy II donated 50 talents of silver and 20,000 medimnoi of wheat, negotiated by Kallias of Sphettos, [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 911](#), 43-55.

<sup>301</sup> Oliver 2007, 231, cf. 237, also notes in relation to the grain supply at this period [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 864](#), of 286/5 BC, for Habron and Matrias of Nesos (an island between Lesbos and the mainland); and [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 925](#), of ca. 285-280 BC, honouring Athenian officials responsible for grain and named Rhodians who had assisted them. [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 1021](#), for Thibron, is now dated to 241/0 BC (archon Lykeas) rather than 284/3 ? BC (as in [IG II<sup>2</sup> 670](#)).

<sup>302</sup> See also [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 393](#) = Engen 2010, 287-88 no. 10; [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 295](#) = Engen 2010, 288-90 no. 11, [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 414](#) = Engen 2010, 291-92 no. 13.

Demetrios Poliorketes which attest to Athens obtaining grain from a range of different sources. As Oliver emphasises, while the Black Sea was a significant producer of grain, the maritime route through to the Aegean was extremely vulnerable;<sup>303</sup> this was apparent enough in Athens' relations with Philip II in the 340s and early 330s BC; now that Athens had not only lost the Second Athenian League, but also, since her defeat in the Lamian War, lacked an independent naval presence, her grain supplies rested almost entirely on the good will of others. Moreover, as Oliver also emphasises, local factors in the Black Sea region itself could disrupt the supply. It is unclear how far Spartokos was in a position to support the Athenian grain supply in the earlier part of his reign, and in the Hellenistic period grain was sometimes imported to the Black Sea as well as exported.<sup>304</sup> Oliver concludes (254), "the exploitation by Athens of the grain supply from the Black Sea in the third century is a shadow of the movement that was such a dominant feature of the mid-fourth century",<sup>305</sup> and the death of Spartokos in 284/3 BC "surely interrupted any favourable conditions that had been renewed briefly in the 280s" (253).

A number of more specific points of comparison between our decree and its fourth-century predecessor are also illuminating. As I have recently pointed out, there was a marked shift in the balance between probouleumatic decrees (i.e. those in which the Assembly approved the Council's proposal) and non-probouleumatic ones (i.e. those in which the Council's proposal was reworked in the Assembly) across this period.<sup>306</sup> Broadly, in 347/6 BC the large majority of inscribed decrees were either non-probouleumatic, or, if probouleumatic, were followed on the stone by a rider, indicating that they had been actively debated in the Assembly;<sup>307</sup> by 285/4 BC this situation had reversed, and once prytany decrees, which were non-probouleumatic as a matter of form (cf. [15](#)), are stripped out of the statistics, the large majority of decrees were probouleumatic.<sup>308</sup> This would seem to represent a long-term shift in the balance between Council and Assembly in decision-taking consonant with the relaxation by the later period of the democratic limit on serving on the Council more than twice in a lifetime. Both the decree of 347/6 BC and the one of 285/4 BC are non-probouleumatic;<sup>309</sup> this was typical in the earlier period, but atypical in the later one. Osborne observes that in general in the early third century decrees dealing with matters of a controversial or potentially controversial nature tended to be non-probouleumatic. The Decree of Chremonides, for example, of 269/8 BC, [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 912](#), which ushered in the Chremonidean War, Athens' final attempt to turn the clock back and, in alliance with Sparta, to assert its status on the international scene as a fully independent polis in the Classical mode, was non-probouleumatic. Osborne notes, however, that the decree for Spartokos III and its

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<sup>303</sup> Oliver 2007, 253.

<sup>304</sup> Oliver 2007, 253-54, citing Polybios 4.38.5, with J. Hind, "The Bosporan Kingdom", in *Cambridge Ancient History*<sup>2</sup> vol. 6 (1994), 476-511, at 504.

<sup>305</sup> Cf. the similar remarks of Müller 2010, 241.

<sup>306</sup> On this distinction see [sect. 2.2](#).

<sup>307</sup> *IALD* II, 231-68.

<sup>308</sup> *IALD* II, 262 n. 85, cf. Osborne 2012a, 68-70.

<sup>309</sup> On [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 298](#) see *IALD* II, 245.

counterparts, [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 871](#) and 872, for King Audoleon and his courtier, are also non-probouleumatic, though they do not appear *prima facie* to be controversial.

Two features of our decree may be relevant to understanding why it was non-probouleumatic. First, donations of grain had a populist character as impacting directly on the well-being of ordinary Athenian citizens. The best preserved non-probouleumatic decrees of the generation following the liberation of 229 BC, [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 1137](#) I and II, also have a strongly populist character, arising from the intervention of the honorand, Eumaridas of Kydonia, on behalf of Athenian citizens and others captured in raids on Attica by Boukris, shipped to Crete and sold as slaves. This may partly explain the non-probouleumatic character of our decree and [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 871](#) and 872.

Second, it may also be that Agyrrhios, the proposer of our decree, had a special reason for publicly sponsoring it, but was not on the Council in the relevant year. This phenomenon is most familiar from the fourth-century democracy, where nearly all the epigraphically attested decrees proposed by leading political figures were non-probouleumatic, reflecting the fact that the influence of such men depended crucially on their capacity to sway opinion in the Assembly.<sup>310</sup> The lack of literary sources for the early third century makes it much more difficult to flesh out a picture of the political elite at this period, but Agyrrhios of Kollytos, the proposer of the decree for Spartokos III, was a descendant of a wealthy and prominent family of the fourth-century democracy.<sup>311</sup> His homonymous ancestor had been secretary to the Council in the first year of the restored democracy, 403/2 BC;<sup>312</sup> he was a populist politician satirised by Aristophanes,<sup>313</sup> who had proposed the introduction of pay for attendance at the Assembly and later raised it to 3 obols.<sup>314</sup> General ca. 389 BC,<sup>315</sup> he had farmed the 2% tax on imports and exports in 402/1 BC,<sup>316</sup> and was imprisoned for a long period in the 380s and 370s BC for illegal possession of public money.<sup>317</sup> More significant still in the context of our decree, the elder Agyrrhios' last known act was as proposer of the complex and ingenious law of 374/3 BC making arrangements for the taxes on grain from the islands of Lemnos, Imbros and Skyros, RO 26. Moreno has observed that the elder Agyrrhios' family also seems to have played an important role in the network that connected members of the Athenian elite, including members Isocrates' circle, with the Bosporan kingdom, a role which seems, on the evidence of the younger Agyrrhios' proposal, to have been maintained across several generations.<sup>318</sup>

A short while after our decree, in 282/1 BC, the younger Agyrrhios proposed another non-probouleumatic decree honouring the archon of the previous year, Euthios of

<sup>310</sup> Rhodes 1972, table F; *IALD* II, 253.

<sup>311</sup> Cf. *APF* pp. 277-82; [RO 26](#), with Rhodes and Osborne's note; *Athenian Onomasticon* s.v. Ἀγύρριος; *PAA* 107660.

<sup>312</sup> [IG II<sup>2</sup> 1](#), l. 41.

<sup>313</sup> *Frogs* 367 with schol.; *Eccl.* 102, 184.

<sup>314</sup> *Ath. Pol.* 41.3.

<sup>315</sup> *Xen. Hell.* 4.8.31.

<sup>316</sup> *Andocides* 1.133-34.

<sup>317</sup> *Dem.* 24.134-35.

<sup>318</sup> Moreno 2007, 175-77. Cf. *Isoc.* 17.31-32; 15.224.



Teithras, [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 881](#).<sup>319</sup> Inscribed decrees honouring the eponymous archon are not common, and it is difficult to perceive the range of factors driving Agyrrhios' proposal in this case, though a thematic connection with the post-liberation context of our decree is apparent from the provision that Euthios be permitted to obtain further benefits from the People, "when the Piraeus and the city are united" (ὅταν ὁ Πειραιεὺς καὶ τὸ ἄστυ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ γένηται, 30-31), a popular aspiration of the years following the ejection of Demetrios Poliorketes (cf. [871](#), ll. 30-34, and [877](#), ll. 34-36) that was not to be realised until 229 BC.

As Moreno has observed, local historian and politician Androtion, proposer of the fourth-century decree for the Spartokids, [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 298](#), and said to have been a pupil of Isocrates,<sup>320</sup> is also quite likely to have had connections with the elite of the Bosporan kingdom who belonged to Isocrates' circle. He was certainly an associate of Timokrates, father of the Polyeuktos who proposed the rider to that decree honouring the rulers' brother, Apollonios. Both Androtion and Timokrates were opponents of Demosthenes.<sup>321</sup> Simonides of Hagnous, the proposer of the non-probouleumatic decrees for Audoleon king of the Paionians and his courtier, [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 871](#) and [872](#), is not further identifiable, but, as Oliver has observed,<sup>322</sup> Athens' relations with this dynasty also extended back into the fourth-century democracy. In 356/5 BC the kingdom had formed an alliance with Athens, alongside Thrace and Illyria, directed against Philip II;<sup>323</sup> Audoleon seems to have been a staunch opponent of the Antigonids, a hostility expressed by the marriage of Pyrrhos to Audoleon's daughter in the late 290s BC.<sup>324</sup>

Like Androtion's decree, Agyrrhios' begins with a reference to the past history of the dynasty's relationship with Athens. With its references to Leukon and Satyros, Androtion's decree is the earliest fourth-century decree to contain specific references to named ancestors,<sup>325</sup> and this set a pattern for future practice in honorific decrees. Agyrrhios' decree alludes more generally to the services of Spartokos' ancestors, without naming them. By this time, these were doubtless extensive enough, and lay far enough in the past, for it to be impracticable to enumerate them specifically; but that inevitably leaves us with some uncertainties as to specifics. The Athenian citizenship referred to in l. 14 perhaps dated back to Satyros I, father of Leukon,<sup>326</sup> but we do not know if the "bronze

<sup>319</sup> He is one of just 11 proposers of multiple decrees in the epigraphical record for 286-261 BC listed by Byrne 2004, 315-16. Byrne lists Agyrrhios, Simonides of Hagnous (proposer of the two decrees for Audoleon and his courtier, [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 871](#) and [872](#)), and Philippos of Thymaitadai (proposer of the decree honouring the cavalry commander, Komeas, ca. 281-279 BC, [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 884](#), and the prytany decree of 271/0 BC, [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 910](#)), as the only proposers of two non-probouleumatic decrees at this period.

<sup>320</sup> Suid. α 2191 and other late sources cited by *PAA* 129125, cf. Dem. 22.4, *APF* p. 34.

<sup>321</sup> Dem. 22 and 24; Moreno 2007, 272-77.

<sup>322</sup> Oliver 2007, 254.

<sup>323</sup> [RO 53](#); Diod. 16.22.3.

<sup>324</sup> Plut. *Pyrrh.* 9.

<sup>325</sup> *IALD* II, 139.

<sup>326</sup> This is inferred by Osborne, *Naturalization* T21, p. 43, from a combination of what Dem. 20.30 states about Leukon, and the reference to Satyros and Leukon in [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 298](#). Osborne suggests that citizenship grants were reaffirmed for successive kings at the beginning of their reigns.

statues” in the Agora and the *emporion* (ll. 14-15), i.e. the market place in the Piraeus, are identifiable with those referred to by Deinarchos as having been awarded on Demosthenes’ proposal (Deinarchos does not mention the *emporion*), or whether there was a later grant of further statues. The “other awards” (l. 16) will clearly have included grants such as the crowns and the *ateleia* familiar from the fourth-century evidence, but there is no sign in that evidence of the defensive alliance alluded to in ll. 17-20. It is possible that such an alliance accompanied the statues proposed by Demosthenes;<sup>327</sup> or, more likely, it may be a later development. In any case the reference to Spartokos himself, as well as his ancestors in the context of this alliance (l. 18), suggests that an earlier alliance had been renewed under Spartokos, perhaps on his succession in 304/3 BC.<sup>328</sup>

The award of gold crowns is one of the commonest expressions of honour in Athenian decrees, and it is no surprise to encounter it in both Androtion’s decree and in Agyrrhios’. Both decrees, however, contain unusual provisions relating to the crownings. Androtion’s is notable for its award of crowns to both Spartokos and Pairisades at every Great Panathenaia, a unique provision that apparently reflects arrangements already in place for their father, Leukon (ll. 28-29); and is also notable for its careful arrangement, in accordance with the honorands’ wishes, for the dedication of the crowns to Athena Polias, inscribed with appropriate wording.<sup>329</sup> It also provides for proclamation of the crowns (it is unclear if this had also been provided for Leukon), and though the wording on this point is somewhat vague, proclamation in the context of the Great Panathenaia seems to be intended.<sup>330</sup> It is in the nature of honour (*timē*) that it increases in proportion to the number of people who know about it; and proclamation at a venue at which not only Athenians, but competitors and spectators from across the Greek world, were present represented a significant enhancement.<sup>331</sup> How long the quadrennial crownings and announcements at

<sup>327</sup> Cf. Schmitt, *SdA* III 401; Burstein. Note, however, that Athens does not seem to have concluded other bilateral treaties in the period between Chaironeia and the Lamian War, *IALD*, 377-86; cf. *IALD* II, 6.

<sup>328</sup> Cf. Heinen 2005. On this alliance see also Müller 2010, 241 (after death of Pairisades I in 310 BC?).

<sup>329</sup> The fact that these arrangements originated in a decree which is no longer extant makes it difficult to pin down the rationale for them. However, Rhodes and Osborne, 323, following D. M. Lewis, *ABSA* 49, 1954, 49, may be right to perceive a connection between the careful arrangements made by Androtion for dedication and inscription of the crowns (ll. 33-39) and Androtion’s background as proposer of a *kathairesis* of Acropolis dedications, for which he had been criticised by Dem. 22.69-78.

<sup>330</sup> Proclamation at the Great Panathenaia, “at the athletic competition”, is later provided for alongside proclamation at the City Dionysia in the context of awards of single crowns in 259/8 (?) BC for Phaidros of Sphettos, at [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 985](#), ll. 75-77, and in 251/0 BC for the city of Lamia, at [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 997](#), ll. 26-29.

<sup>331</sup> This is also implied in the famous debate between Aeschines (at length at 3.32-48) and Demosthenes (more briefly at 18.120-121) over the legality of the provision in Ktesiphon’s decree honouring Demosthenes that the crown should be proclaimed at the City Dionysia. Insofar as the facts about the laws on this topic can be extracted from this debate, it would seem that (as Aeschines states) it was normally the case that proclamation of crowns awarded by the Council was restricted to the Council, and of those awarded by the Assembly to the Assembly, but that (as Demosthenes argues) exceptions could be made and awards announced at the City Dionysia where

the Panathenaia lasted is unclear; one might perhaps imagine that they were superseded by Demosthenes' decree awarding statues. In any case they seem to have lapsed by the 280s BC, for Spartokos receives just one crown, and it is to be proclaimed not at the Panathenaia, but at the City Dionysia "in the tragedies at the *agon*".<sup>332</sup> This provision is also not very common, but it had occurred by this time in inscribed decrees more frequently than proclamation at the Panathenaia. Significantly perhaps, it is found first in the decree of 410/9 BC passed by the restored democracy in honour of Thrasyboulos of Kalydon and associates, assassins of Phrynichos the leading member of the 400, which is also incidentally the first inscribed decree awarding a crown, [IG I<sup>3</sup> 102](#) = OR 182. If a decree included in the manuscripts of Andokides can be relied on, this was the same City Dionysia as that before which the Athenians swore a collective oath to uphold democracy and kill tyrants;<sup>333</sup> and, as Peter Wilson has observed, the connotation of asserting "democracy and freedom" can be detected in other contexts in which announcement at the City Dionysia is provided for. Wilson adduces other early cases, including [7](#) above, for Euagoras of Salamis, liberator with Konon of the Greeks from the Spartans in 394 BC.<sup>334</sup> Among later cases Wilson singled out [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 877](#), the decree of 283/2 BC for the comic poet and politician Philippides, whose crown was also to be proclaimed at the City Dionysia (ll. 61-62), and who "was the first to institute an additional *agon* for Demeter and Kore as a memorial of the liberation of the People" (ll. 43-45).<sup>335</sup> One might add other cases to the list. Famously the provision was included in Ktesiphon's decree honouring that champion of "freedom and democracy", Demosthenes;<sup>336</sup> and the only occurrence of the provision in the inscribed decrees of 352/1-322/1 BC is in the decree of 323/2 BC honouring Euphron of Sikyon, [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 378](#), cf. 377. Euphron was leader of the pro-Athenian party in Sikyon who had brought his city over to the allied cause in the struggle for freedom from Macedonian control, the Lamian War, "first of the cities in the Peloponnese" (ll. 12-13). As I have recently noted elsewhere, this decree self-consciously enacts the democratic notion of the rule of law in its provision, in a correction or rider, for a second Assembly vote to confirm Euphron's citizenship (ll. 33-35).<sup>337</sup> To take a

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this was explicitly provided for in the Assembly's decree (cf. Canevaro 2013, 290-95). Cf. the remarks of P. Liddel, *Civic Obligation and Individual Liberty in Ancient Athens* (2007), 80 and Wilson 2009, 19, as to the impact, in a predominantly oral society, of spreading an honorific message via proclamation rather than exclusively in a written medium such as an inscription.

<sup>332</sup> Though not stated here the proclamation would have been made by the public herald, as at [7](#), l. 15 (honoured in [15](#)).

<sup>333</sup> Andok. 1.96-98; cf. Shear 2011, 135-65. The reliability of this "decree of Demophantos" has been doubted by Canevaro and Harris 2012 and debate on the matter is ongoing. See [OR 182](#) with AIO's notes for further bibliography.

<sup>334</sup> Wilson 2009, 20. See also Giannotti forthcoming, who notes two other cases before c. 330 BC: [IG I<sup>3</sup> 125](#), for Epikerdes of Cyrene, honoured in 405/4 BC for helping Athenian prisoners in Sicily; [IG II<sup>2</sup> 2 = SEG 32.38](#), for Arist-? of Boeotia in 403/2 BC. He also considers the extent to which the services of the honorands in such cases were specifically to the democracy or to Athens more generally.

<sup>335</sup> Wilson 2009, 29 n. 89.

<sup>336</sup> Above n. 331. It is interesting that neither Aeschines nor Demosthenes chooses to dwell on this aspect of the ideology of the proclamation of the crown.

<sup>337</sup> Cf. [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 377](#); *IALD* II, 160-61.

significant example closer in time to Agyrrhios' decree, the provision also occurs in [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 853](#), of 295/4 BC, honouring Herodoros among other things for helping to ensure that "the People . . . might continue to have democracy" (ll. 24-25). Characteristically of the rather hollow rhetoric of Hellenistic Athens, however, it turns out that what Herodoros has done is to act as a go-between of Athens and that same Demetrios Poliorketes whose expulsion from Athens a few years later is celebrated in Agyrrhios' decree for Spartokos and Simonides' for Audoleon.<sup>338</sup>

As we have seen, by the time of this decree not one, but two sets of statues of Spartokos III's ancestors had been erected, in the Agora and in the *emporion* in the Piraeus. Agyrrhios' decree also provides for two, the underlying intention apparently being to place them beside the earlier statues. The first location for the new statue is uncontroversially restored as "in the Agora beside his ancestors" (ll. 40-41); the location of the second statue is less straightforward. At the time the decree was passed the Piraeus was cut off from the city, and ἐ[ν τῷ | ἐμπορίῳ] is too long a restoration for the available space. Osborne and Byrne in *IG II<sup>3</sup>* follow most earlier editors in restoring ἐ[ν ἀκροπόλει, which suits the space and accords with the location of the stele itself (l. 54). Collocation of stele and statue is not in principle implausible,<sup>339</sup> but while the Acropolis was the default location for stelai and a plausible alternative, in the circumstances, to the Piraeus, where the previous stelai had been erected (though as we have seen [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 462](#) was probably erected on the Acropolis or in the Agora), the Acropolis is by no means a default location for erection of statues. In fact there is no other certain case in the corpus of decrees of 300/299-230/29 BC of such a provision being put into effect.<sup>340</sup> We might, therefore, think rather in terms of an aspiration to erect a second statue in the Piraeus when control had been recovered.<sup>341</sup> Following this line of reasoning, W. Mack attractively suggests per ep. that we might restore the second location for the statue at ll. 41-42, ἐ[ν Πειραιεῖ, "in the Piraeus". He compares the provision for the erection of two statues of the Athenian politician Kephisodoros (200/199 or 184/3 BC), *IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 1292*, ll.

<sup>338</sup> For a much later case of this provision see [16](#) with commentary.

<sup>339</sup> Cf. the discussion of this topic at [AIUK 2 \(BSA\)](#), p. 12 and on [7](#) above.

<sup>340</sup> The provision that not only the stele but also the statue should be erected on the Acropolis in the case of the very fragmentary [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 969](#), of 286-262 BC, is wholly restored (ll. 9-10) and is doubtful. The only provision for erection of a statue on the Acropolis in the decrees of 229/8-168/7 BC appears to be in [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 1137](#), where, in decree 1 (228/7 BC), l. 26, a statue of Eumaridas of Kydonia is to be erected on the Acropolis from public funds. It transpires from decree 2 of 211/0 BC, however, that the statue had never been erected, and provision is made, at the suggestion of Eurykleides and Mikion, for its erection instead in the precinct of the People and the Graces (ll. 37-42). Cf. *IALD* II, 264. Taken together, the evidence of the inscribed decrees of 300/299-168/7 BC suggests that a statue on the Acropolis was not only exceptional, it may have been regarded as improper. I discuss the topic of erection on the Acropolis of honorific statues provided for by Assembly decrees more fully in Lambert forthcoming b, and conclude that the earliest was that provided for Ptolemy son of Ptolemy of 169/8-135/4 BC, *IG II<sup>2</sup> 983* (date: Tracy 1990, 149), and that it is significant that this dates to after the battle of Pydna, 168 BC, and the definitive incorporation of Greece generally and Athens in particular into the Roman sphere of control.

<sup>341</sup> Cf. Gauthier 1979, 370 n. 40, who wondered whether the intention might have been to transfer a statue to the *emporion* later on, "quand le Pirée et la ville furent réunis ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ [the expression used for the reunification at [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 881](#), l. 31]."

33-34: στῆσαι . . . εἰκόνα χαλκῆν ἐν ἀγορᾷ | καὶ [ἄλλην ἐμ Πειραιεῖ] ἔν τῳ ἐμπορίῳ (“stand ... a bronze statue in the Agora and another in Piraeus in the *emporion*”). Admittedly a more specific location in the Piraeus is given in that case, but Mack writes that a lack of specificity could be explained in our case on the understanding “that this is a claim to the right to make this kind of dispensation rather than an administrative order which would actually be practicable”.<sup>342</sup>

A final intriguing provision, which might be an echo of the arrangements for decrees honouring earlier members this dynasty, is the sending of an embassy to Spartokos to deliver to him a copy of the decree, with the explicit intention of encouraging him to help the People in whatever way he can (ll. 42-48). Provision for honorands to erect copies of decrees honouring them in their home cities is much more unusual with honours awarded by Athens than by some other Greek cities.<sup>343</sup> There is a rare parallel in [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 1258](#), of 196/5 BC, honouring King Pharnakes of Pontos, where Athens also provides for a copy of the decree to be delivered to the honorand (ll. 46-50), a move with the clear diplomatic objective of persuading the king to part with his money. A comparable objective would seem implicit in the wording of the parallel provision in our decree. However, as we saw above, a notable feature of the early-fourth-century decree for Spartokos III’s ancestor, Leukon, as recorded by Demosthenes 20.36, was that no less than three copies of it were erected, “by you [i.e. the Athenians] and him [i.e. Leukon]” in the Bosporos, in the Piraeus and at Hieron. It is possible that the unusual provision to present Spartokos III with a copy of the decree honouring him was motivated in part by an intention to permit him to inscribe a copy of it in the Bosporan kingdom alongside stelai inscribed with earlier Athenian decrees honouring his ancestors.

<sup>342</sup> For the specification of an unrealised statue location cf. [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 1137](#) (above n. 340). Apart from the Agora, the only other location provided for statues in the inscribed decrees of this period is the theatre, and, given the stoichedon irregularities of this decree, ἐν τῳ | θεάτρῳ is not an impossible restoration at ll. 41-42, but despite the connotations of the proclamation at the City Dionysia, discussed above, that location was probably used for those with stronger connections to the theatre than Spartokos III: [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 877](#), ll. 63-64, in 283/2 BC, for the poet Philippides, cf. the fragmentary case, [856](#), ll. 4-5, in 295/4 BC, perhaps for another theatrical figure.

<sup>343</sup> Cf. *IALD* II, 36.



3. The Inscriptions. 12 Honours for Spartokos of the Bosporan Kingdom



Fig. 12. 12 b © Trustees of the British Museum.

**13** HONORIFIC DECREE. BM 1816,0610.350. Elgin collection (cf. [sect. 1](#)). Fragment of a stele of white marble, left side preserved, h. 0.314, w. 0.128, th. 0.136. L. h. 0.008 (O 0.006). Stoich. vert. 0.0193, horiz. 0.0158. “Cutter of Agora I 3238 and 4169”, 286/5 - ca. 239 BC (Tracy 2003, 83). On the lettering see also [sect. 2.5](#).

Eds. *CIG* I 97; Hicks, *GIBM* I 9 (*IG* II 245); *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 697; S. Dow, *Hesperia* 32, 1963, 352-56 (*SEG* 21.356) (ph.); *IG* II<sup>3</sup> 1, 984 (ph.).

Cf. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 38, 1969, 433-34; Osborne 2000; Osborne 2012b, 157 no. 55. Autopsy Lambert 2018. In store. *Fig.* 13.

259/8 BC	[ἐπὶ Φιλίνου ἄρχοντος, ἐπὶ τῆς . . . . . <sup>8</sup> . . . . . δος δω]–	stoich. 37
	[δεκ]άτη[ς πρυτανείας, ἥι Θεότιμος Στρατοκλέο]–	
	υς Θορα[ιεύς <sup>II</sup> ἐγγραμμάτευεν· Σκιροφοριῶνος δε]–	
	κάτηι ὑ[στέραι· δευτέραι καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς πρυ]–	
5	τανεία[ς· ἐκκλησία κυρία· ὃ τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψή]–	
	[φ]ιζεν ὃ [. . . . . <sup>27</sup> . . . . . καὶ σ]–	
	[υ]μπρόε[δροι· – – – – – <sup>I</sup> , – – – – – Κοθ]–	
	ωκίδης <sup>II</sup> , [– – – – – <sup>III</sup> , – – – – –]	
	αιεύς <sup>IV</sup> , ὃ [– – – – – <sup>V or VI or VII</sup> , – – – – –]	
10	ς Ἀχαρνέ[υς <sup>VIII</sup> , – – – – – <sup>X</sup> , – – – – –]	
	ς Φλυεύς <sup>IX</sup> , [– – – – – <sup>XI</sup> , – – – – – Ἄνα]–	
	φλύστιο[ς <sup>XII</sup> . ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ· ὃ <sup>IV</sup> ]–	
	Θεοτιμί[δης – – – – – εἶπεν· – – – – –]	
	καὶ πρό[τερον – – – – –]	
15	ους ευρ[– – – – – ἐ]–	
	φάμιλλα [– – – – – δ]–	
	εἰκνυσ[ιν – – – – –]	
	– – – – –	

Dow was first to recognise that the left margin was preserved. Rest. 3-4, 6-17 Dow after Kirchner, 5 Hicks || 1-2 Meritt, cf. [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 983](#), ll. 1-2 || 4 τετάρτει καὶ Meritt, on the basis that the year was intercalary, corr. *IG* II<sup>3</sup>, noting that the year was ordinary, cf. Osborne 2012b || 13 . . . . .<sup>6</sup> . . . ἔξ Οἴου εἶπεν· ὃ ἐπειδὴ νῦν] *IG* II<sup>3</sup>, observing that spacing suggests a short demotic and comparing Θεοτ[ιμί]δ[η]ν ἔξ Οἴου, ephebe ca. 325 BC, *ASCS Newsletter* 17, 1991, 14. ἐπειδὴ νῦν (Dow), however, is insecure, e.g. ἐπειδὴ] | καὶ πρό[τερον is possible, cf. e.g. [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 358](#) l. 5, 361 ll. 23-24, [367](#) l. 9, [881](#) l. 17 || 15 Εὐρύ– Dow || 16 Κρόλλ ap. Dow.

[In the archonship of Philinos (259/8), in the] twelfth | prytany, [of -, for which Theotimos son of Stratokles] | of Thorai<sup>II</sup> [was secretary]. On the twenty-first [of | Skirophorion, the twenty-second] of the prytany. | (5) [Principal Assembly]. Of the presiding committee - | son of - of - was putting to the vote and | his fellow presiding committee members, - of -<sup>I</sup>, - of | Kothokidai<sup>II</sup>, - of -<sup>III</sup>, - of -<sup>IV</sup>, | - of -<sup>V, VI or VII</sup>, - | (10) of Acharnai<sup>VIII</sup>, - of -<sup>X</sup>, - | of Phlya<sup>IX</sup>, - of -<sup>XI</sup>, - of | Anaphlystos<sup>XII</sup>. The Council and People decided. | Theotimides son of - of - proposed:<sup>344</sup> [since] | also previously . . . | (15) . . . | incentives . . . | show . . . | . . .

<sup>344</sup> On Athenian decree prescripts see [sect. 2.3](#) and [2.4](#).

This small fragment can be assigned to the archonship of Philinos on the basis that the remains of the secretary's nomenclature are consistent with the fully preserved prescript of [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 983](#), which belongs to that year.<sup>345</sup> The fragment is mainly notable for listing the names of all the members of the presiding committee (*proedroi*) in office when the decree was passed (5-12).<sup>346</sup> Normally only the chairman of the committee was named, but in [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 333](#) Decree II, of 333/2 BC, all the committee members are named for the first time, and this occurs sporadically thereafter.<sup>347</sup> After 302/1 BC ([IG II<sup>2</sup> 502](#)), Osborne and Byrne in *IG II<sup>3</sup>* note that in the period 300/299-230/29 BC the phenomenon is only attested in this decree, [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 986](#) of 257/6 BC, [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 993](#) of 255/4 BC (= [14](#) below), and possibly [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 858](#), of 293/2 BC. It is briefly revived following the liberation of Athens from the Macedonians in 229 BC, and attested for the last time in [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 1135](#), of 228/7 BC, [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 1138](#), of 227/6 BC, and [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 1142](#), of 229/8-224/3 BC.<sup>348</sup> Dow, 339, suggested that, in the copy of the decree deposited in the archive in the Metroon, all preambles included the full list of *proedroi*, perhaps from the institution of the committee in 378/7 BC, and that this sporadically penetrated into the inscribed copies. This is very plausible, and would parallel developments with other aspects of preambular detail, which also tend to penetrate progressively into the inscribed record. For example full dating by date in prytany and date in month also begins in the 330s BC.<sup>349</sup>

An argument can be made, however, that the inclusion of the full list of *symproedroi* in the inscribed copy of the decree was also intended to make a public point about the democratic propriety of collective management of the Assembly's agenda. On this view it would not be coincidental that in the year that the full list of *symproedroi* is first included, 333/2 BC, the Council dedicated a statue to Democracy, important evidence for the emergence of "Democracy" as a cult figure;<sup>350</sup> or that at this same period the *proedroi* were themselves honoured by decrees, suggestive of the weight they were perceived to carry in the democratic process.<sup>351</sup> At the other end of the span of attestation of this phenomenon, it is notable that there is a "revival" of *symproedroi* lists precisely in the years following the re-establishment of "freedom and democracy" that followed the evacuation of Athens by the Macedonian garrison in 229 BC. It is less easy, however, to

<sup>345</sup> On the allocation of Philinos to the year 259/8 BC see Osborne 2000 (515, table V).

<sup>346</sup> Usually the presiding committee members are listed in tribal order, but occasionally, as here, there is an irregularity. On this committee see above [sect. 2.3](#).

<sup>347</sup> Dow 1963, 337, lists all the examples then known. The pattern of occurrence of the phenomenon in the years 321/0-301/0 BC is interesting from an ideological point of view and will be clearer when *IG II<sup>3</sup> 1* fasc. 3 has been published. I note, however, that [IG II<sup>2</sup> 451](#), dated to the period of Demetrios of Phaleron's regime (313/2 BC, archon Theophrastos) in 1963, has since been shifted to 340/39 BC (now [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 314](#), also archon Theophrastos) and is no longer restored to include a list of the *symproedroi*.

<sup>348</sup> Tracy, on [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 1142](#), notes that the last two examples were both cut by his "Cutter of *IG II<sup>2</sup> 1706*".

<sup>349</sup> First in [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 316](#), of 338/7 BC. On the general point see P. J. Rhodes, *Chiron* 25, 1995, 187-98, especially 189, cf. *IALD II*, 242.

<sup>350</sup> [IG II<sup>3</sup> 4, 3](#).

<sup>351</sup> Two separate cases are attested: by Hyp. 4 *Phil.* (338-336 BC, cf. D. Whitehead, *Hypereides*, 2000, 54); and by the fragmentary decree, [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 476](#), probably of 326/5-324/3 BC.



make such a case for the other third-century instances. 293/2 BC was certainly a fraught year in the constitutional history of Athens, but it was the year of Olympiodoros' second, unconstitutional archonship, and of the revival of the oligarchic *anagrapheus*,<sup>352</sup> and in the early 250s BC Athens seems to have been firmly in the grip of Antigonos Gonatas, following his victory in the Chremonidean War in 263/2 BC.<sup>353</sup>

Our decree was probouleumatic, as commonly at this period (see the discussion above, on 12). It was clearly honorific, and, as commonly with such decrees, began with reference to the honorand's (or his ancestors') previous service to Athens (cf. again 12); but nothing further can be established about it. The only other point of interest is that it appears to have been passed at a "principal Assembly" (convincingly restored l. 5). This is of interest in the context of debate about whether, as part of relative democratic "decline", Assemblies were less frequent at this period than they had been in the fourth-century democracy, when there was normally one "principal Assembly" and three ordinary Assemblies per prytany.<sup>354</sup> In the years 300/299-230/229 BC as many inscribed decrees (43) were passed at a "principal Assembly" as at an Assembly of unspecified type (43), which might suggest that there were fewer "non-principal" Assemblies at this period than earlier.<sup>355</sup>

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<sup>352</sup> Osborne 2012a, 34-35.

<sup>353</sup> Osborne 2012a, 50-52, with *FGrH* 244 Apollodoros F 44 and T. Dorandi, *ZPE* 84, 1990, 130 (imposition of garrison, dissolution of *archai* and everything subordinated to the will of one man). Little is known, however, about the detailed political history of Athens in these years. In 256/5 or 255/4 BC Antigonos seems to have loosened the bonds (Antigonos gave the Athenians their freedom, Eusebios, *Chron.* II 120 Schöne), apparently entailing the removal of the Antigonid garrison from the Mouseion, and the inclusion of the *symproedroi* in 14 might just have been intended to make a point in that connection.

<sup>354</sup> *Ath. Pol.* 43.4-6, with *IALD* II, 241-42, 259-60.

<sup>355</sup> *IALD* II, 260. I also argued, 259, that the widespread view that the normal frequency of Assembly meetings was reduced from four to three pro rata with the shortening of prytanies consequential on the increase in the number of tribes in 307/6 BC lacks credibility, being based on garbled evidence from later antiquity (schol. *Ar. Ach.* 19 etc.).

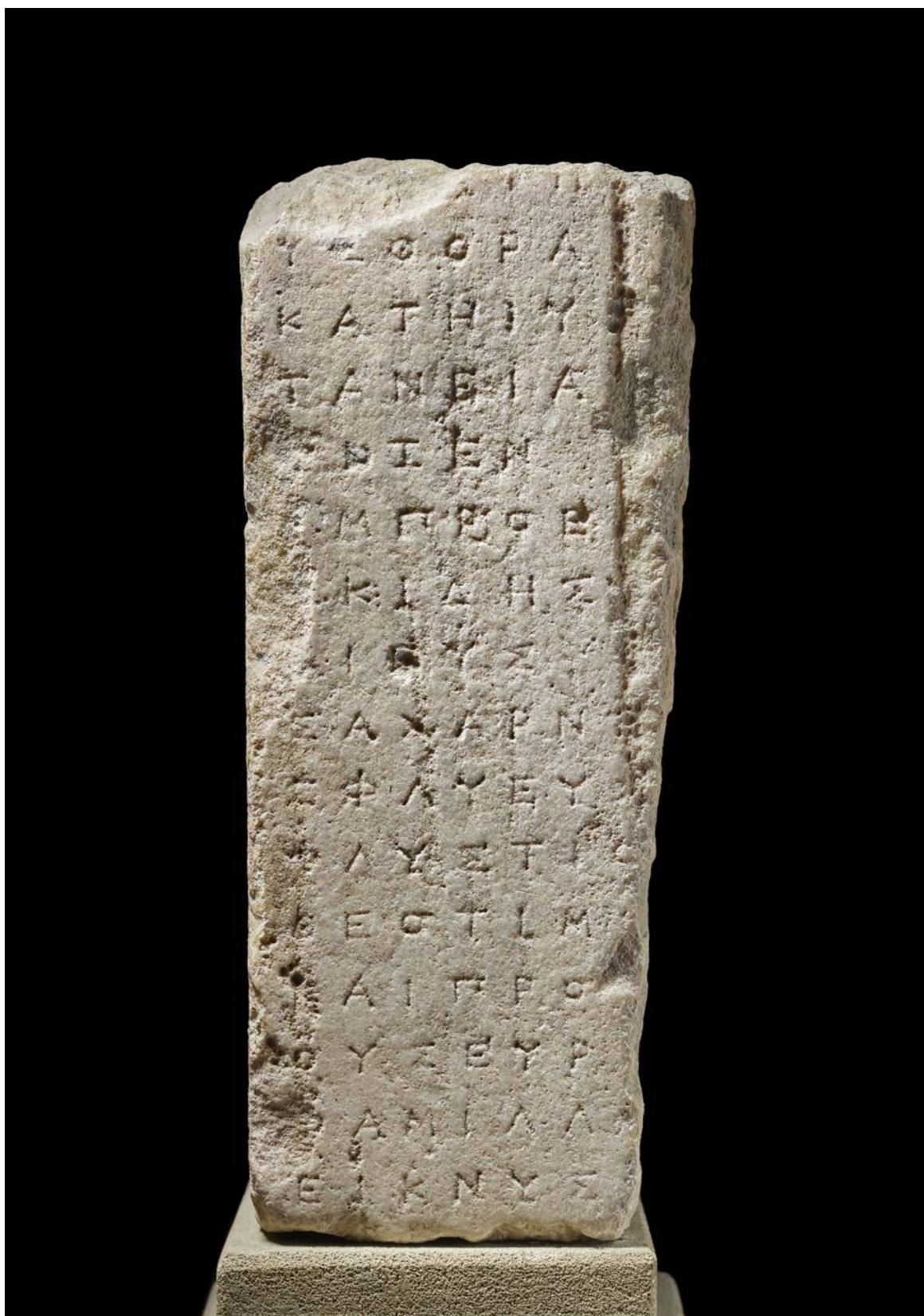


Fig. 13. 13 © Trustees of the British Museum.



**14** DECREE. BM 1816,0610.205. Elgin collection (cf. [sect. 1](#)). Fragment of a stele of white marble, broken at the bottom, with a moulding at the top, on which is inscribed a floral motif.<sup>356</sup> H. 0.313, w. 0.448, th. 0.105-0.14. L. h. 0.004. Stoich. vert. 0.0130-0.0138, horiz. 0.009. “Cutter of *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 788”, ca. 260 - ca. 235 BC (Tracy 2003, 130). On the lettering see also [sect. 2.5](#).

Eds. *CIG* I 111 + Add p. 901\*; Hicks, *GIBM* I 17 (*IG* II 336); *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 770; *IG* II<sup>3</sup> 1, 993 (ph.).

Cf. S. Dow, *Hesperia* 32, 1963, 357-58 (*SEG* 21.374); S. V. Tracy, *Hesperia* 57, 1988, 319 (*SEG* 38.95); Osborne 2000; Osborne 2012b, 158 no. 60. Autopsy Lambert 2018. In store. *Fig.* 14.

255/4 BC [ἐ]πὶ Κλεομάχου ἄρχοντος, ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντιοχίδος<sup>XII</sup> ἑνδεκάτη[ς πρυ]- stoich. 48  
 τανείας, ὃ ἦι Ἀφθόνητος Ἀρχίνου Κήττιος<sup>VI</sup> ἐγγραμμάτευεν· Θ[αρ]-  
 [γ]ηλιῶνος ἑνδεκάτει· ἑνδεκάτει τῆς πρυτανείας· ἑκκλ[ησί]-  
 [α κυ]ρία· τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν ὃ Λέων Θεαίου Τρικορ[ύσιο]-  
 5 [ς<sup>XI</sup>· καὶ συμ]πρόεδροι· [· . . . .]στρατος Αἰθαλίδης<sup>I</sup>, ὃ Πεισικλ[ῆς]  
 [Ἰπποτομάδης<sup>II</sup>, ὃ Σ]ώστ[ρατος Ἀναγυ]ράσιος<sup>III</sup>, ὃ Ἀντίδωρος Φιλαίδ-  
 [ης<sup>IV</sup>, - - - - -<sup>V</sup>, - -]στρατος Κήττιος<sup>VI</sup>, ὃ Φιλίω-  
 [ν - - -<sup>VII</sup>, - - - - -<sup>VIII</sup>]-[ς<sup>VIII</sup>, ὃ Θεόφιλος Αἰξωνεύς<sup>IX</sup>, [·]  
 [- - - - -<sup>X</sup>· ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ] καὶ τῷ δήμ[ωι]  
 - - - - -

Rest. Hicks after Boeckh, 9 Koehler || 6 in. demotic and name, Tracy || 8 -10ς Dow.

In the archonship of Kleomachos (255/4), in the eleventh prytany, of Antiochis<sup>XII</sup>, | for which Aphthonetos son of Archinos of Ketos<sup>VI</sup> was secretary; | on the eleventh of Thargelion, the eleventh of the prytany; principal | Assembly; of the presiding committee Leon son of Theaios of Trikorynthos<sup>XI</sup> was putting to the vote, | (5) and his fellow presiding committee members: -stratos of Aithalidai<sup>I</sup>, Peisikles | of Hippotomadai<sup>II</sup>, Sostratos of Anagyrous<sup>III</sup>, Antidoros of Philaidai<sup>IV</sup>, | - of -<sup>V</sup>, -stratos of Ketos<sup>VI</sup>, Philion | of -<sup>VII</sup>, - of -<sup>VIII</sup>, Theophilos of Aixone<sup>IX</sup>, | - of -<sup>X</sup>. The Council and People decided. | . . .

Only the prescript of this decree survives.<sup>357</sup> For the allocation of the archon Kleomachos to the year 255/4 BC, and the character of the year as ordinary, cf. Osborne 2000 and 2012b. The secretary (l. 2) is from tribe VI (Leontis), in due sequence behind **13**, of 259/8 BC, where he is from tribe II (Demetrias). As with **13**, the decree was passed at the principal Assembly (see the discussion, above); it is probouleumatic (9, significance

<sup>356</sup> Figurative sculpture (for which see **10**) on decree inscriptions had ceased at this period (latest dated case before the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. is on *IG* II<sup>3</sup> 1, 853a of 295/4 BC = Lawton 59), and pediments on decree inscriptions are also normally free of sculpted decoration (though they may have been painted), but a floral motif in relief is also found on the pediment of *IG* II<sup>3</sup> 1, 914 of 268/7 BC (ph., more elaborate than our case), and 999 of 251/0 BC carries a carved floral motif on the main body of the stele above the inscribed text (cf. **8**).

<sup>357</sup> On the features of the prescript noted here cf. [sect. 2.2](#), [2.3](#), [2.4](#).

discussed above in relation to 12); and the prescript lists all the members of the presiding committee, the latest decree to do so before 229 BC (on the possible significance of this see the commentary on 13). Though the families of Leon of Trikorynthos (4), Sostratos of Anagyrous (6) and Antidoros of Philaidai (6) are known, the men are unattested elsewhere in person, and Peisikles of Hippotomadaï and Theophilos of Aixone are altogether unknown.<sup>358</sup> This might suggest that the pattern of the fourth-century democracy, whereby *proedroi* were “ordinary” Athenians, typically neither especially wealthy nor politically prominent, was maintained in the third century. This is as we should expect if *proedroi* continued to be appointed for one day only, though direct comparison of social and economic status is difficult in light of the substantially weaker prosopographical dataset available for the third century.<sup>359</sup>

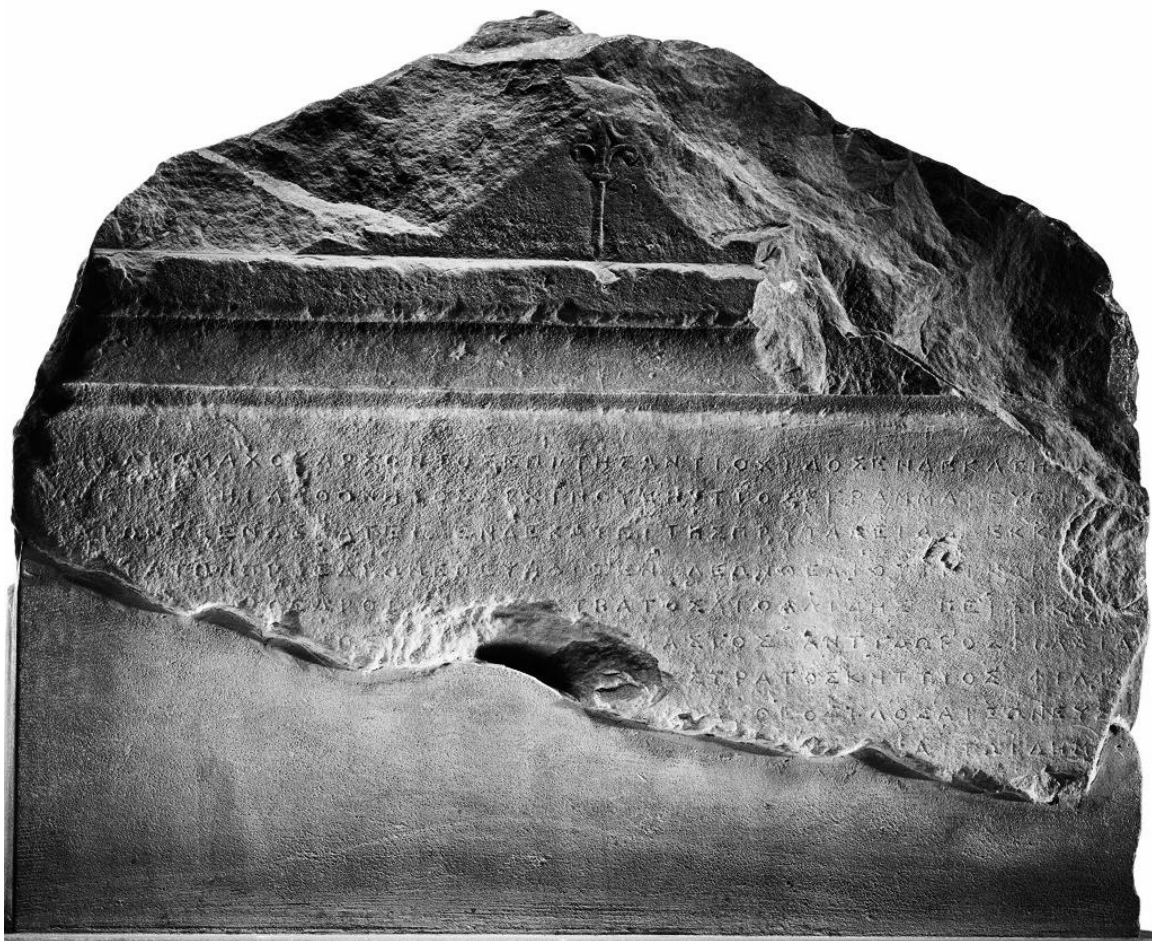


Fig. 14. 14 © Trustees of the British Museum.

<sup>358</sup> See *Athenian Onomasticon*.

<sup>359</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> century: *IALD* II, 190-92 with 222-23, Appendix 4. Weaker data for 3<sup>rd</sup> century: only about a third of the number of Athenians are known by name at this period, compared with those known by name in the 4<sup>th</sup> century. See Lambert 2010, 149.

**15** DECREES HONOURING THE PRYTANY OF PTOLEMAIS. Ag. I 973ab (*f*, *a*), Ag. I 5457 (*b*), BM 1816,0610.386 (*c*) (Elgin collection, cf. [sect. 1](#)), Ag. I 5395 (*d*), Ag. I 3676 (*e*). Agora, in a house near the “gymnasium of Ptolemy” [= Stoa of Attalos] (Dodwell, cf. [sect. 1](#)) *c*; Agora (*a*, *b*, *d*, *e*, *f*). Six fragments of a thick stele of white marble, th. 0.165, consisting of three joining pairs, *ab*, *cd*, *ef*. *ab* preserves top, with pedimental moulding, left side and back, h. 0.442, w. 0.255, th. 0.13, *cd* preserves right side, *c* h. 0.11, w. 0.07, th. 0.05, *d* h. 0.115, w. 0.08, th. 0.085, *e* broken on all sides, h. 0.147, w. 0.133, th. 0.128, *f* preserves right side, h. 0.28, w. 0.183, th. 0.103. L. h. 0.005-0.007. “Cutter of IG II<sup>2</sup> 912”, 226/5 - ca. 190 BC (Tracy 1990, 57). On the lettering see also [sect. 2.5](#).

Eds. *c* Dodwell 1819, 372; *CIG* I 113 + Add. p. 901\*; Hicks, *GIBM* I 18 (*IG* II 392; *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 916); *c*, *f* Dow 1937, 49 (ph.); *ab* Pritchett and Meritt 1940, 113-16 (ph.); *d* B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 36, 1967, 232-33 no. 42 (ph.) (*SEG* 24.173); *e* Meritt, *Hesperia* 29, 1960, 8-9 no. 10 (ph.) (*SEG* 19.74); *ef* S. V. Tracy, *Hesperia* 39, 1970, 308-9 no. 2 (ph.); *a-f* Agora XV 187 *a-f*, *IG* II<sup>3</sup> 1, 1263.

Autopsy, Lambert 2018 (*c*). In store. Fig. 15 (*c*).

192/1 BC (?)

**ab**      θ                      ε                      [ο                      ί].  
*I*      ἐπὶ Διοδότου ἄρχον[τος τοῦ μετὰ Φαναρχίδην],      non-stoich. ca. 37  
       ἐπὶ τῆς Πτολεμαϊίδ[ος<sup>V</sup> δωδεκάτης πρυτανείας],  
       ἥι Προκλῆς Περικλέ[ους Ἀλαιοῦς<sup>II</sup> ἐγραμμάτευεν].  
 5      Σκιροφοριῶνος τετ[ράδι μετ' εἰκάδας· ἐβδόμει]  
       καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς πρ[υτανείας· βουλὴ ἐν τῷ Πανα]-  
       θηναϊκῷ σταδί[ωι· τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν]  
       Λυσικλῆς Ἀπολλω[- - -<sup>c.9</sup> - - - καὶ συμπρόεδροι].  
 10      ἔδοξεν τεῖ βουλ[εῖ· <sup>νν</sup> Ξενοφῶν Εὐφάντου Βερε]-  
       νικίδης<sup>V</sup> εἶπεν· ἐ[πει]δὴ [οἱ πρυτάνεις τῆς Πτολεμαι]-  
       ίδος καὶ οἱ αἰσιτ[ο]ι ἐπα[ινέσαντες καὶ στεφανώσαν]-  
       τες ἀποφαίνουσιν τεῖ βο[υλεῖ τὸν ταμίαν, ὃν εἶλον]-  
       το ἐξ ἑαυτῶν Ἡγήτορα Οἰ[ναῖον<sup>V</sup> τὰς τε θυσίας τε]-  
       θυκεῖναι πάσας τὰς καθηκ[ούσας ἐν τεῖ πρυτανεί]-  
 15      αι, ἐπιμεμελῆσθαι δὲ καὶ τῶν [ἄλλων ἀπάντων κα]-  
       λῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως, ἀγαθεῖ τ[ύχει, δεδόχθαι τεῖ]  
       βουλεῖ· ἐπαινέσαι τὸν ταμί[αν Ἡγήτορα Ἀριστο]-  
       [βού]λου [<sup>V</sup>νν] Οἰναῖον εὐσεβεῖ[ας ἕνεκα τῆς πρὸς]  
       [τοὺς θεοῦ]ς καὶ φιλοτιμίας τ[ῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον],  
 20      [ἐπαινέσαι δ]ὲ καὶ τὸν γραμμ[ατέα Διόδωρον Ἄνδρο]-  
       [κλέους Ἀφιδνα]ῖον<sup>V</sup> καὶ τὸν γ[ραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς]  
       [καὶ τοῦ δήμου Ἀν]τίμαχον Αρ- - - -<sup>c.17</sup> - - - -  
       [· . καὶ τὸν ὑπογραμμ]ατέα Αρ- - - -<sup>c.17</sup> - - - -  
       [- -<sup>c.8</sup> - - καὶ τὸν κήρυ]κα τῆς [βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου]  
 25      [Εὐκλῆν Βερενικίδην καὶ τὸν αὐλητῆ]ν Νεοκλῆ[ν Βε]-      **cd**  
       [ρενικίδην καὶ στεφανώσαι ἕκασ]τον θαλλοῦ στεφ[ά]-  
       [νωι· ἀναγράψαι δὲ τότε τὸ ψήφι]σμα τὸν γραμματέα

30	[τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν ἐν στήλ]ει λιθίνει καὶ στήσαι [ἐν τῷ πρυτανικῷ· εἰς δὲ τὴν] ἀναγραφὴν καὶ τὴν ποίη- [σιν τῆς στήλης μερίσαι τοὺς ἐ]πὶ τῇ διοικήσει τὸ γε- [νόμενον ἀνάλωμα]. <i>vacat</i>				
II	[ἐπὶ Διοδότου ἄρχοντος τοῦ μετ]ὰ Φαναρχίδην, ἐπὶ τῆς <sup>v</sup> non-stoich. ca. 46 [Πτολεμαίῳδος <sup>v</sup> δωδεκάτης πρυτ]ανείας, ἡ Προκλῆς Περι <sup>v</sup> - [κλέους Ἀλαιοῦς <sup>II</sup> ἐγραμμάτευεν]. Σκιροφοριῶνος ἐνεὶ καὶ νέ- 35 [αι, τριακοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας· ἐκ]κλησίᾳ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ· <sup>vv</sup> [τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν – – <sup>c.5</sup> – –]τος Κράτητος Ἐλευσίνιος <sup>IX</sup> [καὶ συμπρόεδροι· ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ]. <sup>vvvvvv</sup> Ξενοφῶν Εὐφάντ[ου] [Βερενικίδης <sup>v</sup> εἶπεν· ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀπαγγέλλ]ουσιν οἱ πρυτάνεις τῆς Π[το]- [λεμαίῳδος ὑπὲρ τῶν θυσιῶν, ὧν ἔθ]υον τὰ πρὸ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶ[ν] 40 [τῷ τε Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Προστατηρίῳ καὶ τ]εῖ Ἀρτέμιδι τεῖ Βουλαίᾳ [καὶ] [τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς, οἷς πάτριον ἦν, <sup>vvv</sup> ] ἀγαθεῖ τύχει, δεδόχθαι τῷ [ι δῆ]- [μῳ· τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ δέχεσθαι τὰ γεγονό]τα ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς, οἷς ἔθυσον [ἐφ'] [ύγιεῖαι καὶ σωτηρίαι τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τ]οῦ δήμ[ου κ]αὶ παῖ[δων] καὶ γ[υναι]- [κῶν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἱ πρυτάνεις τὰς τε θυσί]ας ἔθ[υσαν ἀπάσας ὅ]σαι κα[θῆ]- 45 [κον ἐν τῇ πρυτανείᾳ καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως, ἐπιμεμέληντα]ι δὲ κα[ὶ] [τῆς συλλογῆς τῆς τε βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου κ]α[ὶ] τ[ῶν ἄλλων ἀπ]άντων <i>ef</i> [ὧν αὐτοῖς προσέταττον οἱ τε νόμοι κα]ὶ τὰ [ψ]ηφίσι[ματα· ἐπα]ινέσαι [τοὺς πρυτάνεις τῆς Πτολεμαίῳδος καὶ στεφαν[ῶσαι χρυσῶι στε]- [φάνῳ κατὰ τὸν νόμον εὐσεβεῖ]ας ἕνεκα τῆς εἰ[ς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ φιλο]- 50 [τιμίας τῆς εἰς τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τ]ὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθ[η]ναίων· ἀν[αγράψαι] [δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμμα]τέα τὸν κατὰ π[ρ]υτανείαν ἐ[ν στή]- [λει λιθίνει καὶ στήσαι ἐν τῷ] πρυτανικῷ· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγ[ραφήν] [καὶ τὴν ποίησιν τῆς στήλης μερί]σαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσε[ι] τὸ [γενόμενον ἀνάλωμα]. <i>vacat</i>				
55	[ἡ βουλὴ] [Ἡγήτορα] [Ἀριστοβού]- [λου Οἰναῖ]- [ον]	60	[ὁ δῆμος] [τοὺς πρυ]- [τάνεις]	65	ἡ βουλὴ Διόδωρον Ἀνδροκλέ- ους Ἀφιδναῖ- ον
<i>vacat</i>					
<i>cols. 1-4</i> <i>not preserved</i>		<i>col. 5</i> --- -κος --- -ος ----- ----- -----		70	<i>col. 6</i> Καλλικράτης Προσπάλτιοι [Σω]σίστρατος - <sup>2-3</sup> -κλείδη[ς]



### 3. The Inscriptions. 15 Decrees Honouring the Prytany of Ptolemais

Letters preserved on the BM fragment (c), are underlined. Tracy and Bardani (*IG II<sup>3</sup>*) reject the suggestion of Dow, Meritt and Traill that [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 1429](#) is a fragment of the same inscription. Rest. Tracy and Bardani after previous eds. || 4. 34 Ἀλκιεὺς A. E. Raubitschek, *Hesp.* 11, 1942, 311, cf. *AJA* 46, 1942, 575 n. 1 || 5 fin. τετάρτει] Pritchett and Meritt 1940, corr. W. K. Pritchett and O. Neugebauer, *The Calendars of Athens* (1947), 84 n. 19 || 36 Εὐκλει]τος Raubitschek, *Hesperia Index I-X* s.v.

#### *Decree 1 (Council)*

Gods.<sup>360</sup>

In the archonship of Diodotos (192/1), who came after Phanarchides (193/2),  
in the twelfth prytany, of Ptolemais<sup>V</sup>,

for which Prokles son of Perikles of Halai<sup>II</sup> was secretary;

(5) On the twenty-seventh of Skirophorion, the twenty-seventh of the prytany. Council in the Panathenaic stadium. Of the presiding committee

Lysikles son of Apollo- of - was putting to the vote and his fellow presiding committee members.

The Council decided. Xenophon son of Euphantos of Berenikidai<sup>V</sup>

(10) proposed:<sup>361</sup> since the prytany of Ptolemais

and those who have permanent dining rights praised and crowned

Hegetor of Oinoe<sup>V</sup> the treasurer they chose from themselves

and have declared to the Council that he has sacrificed

all the sacrifices which were proper in the prytany

(15) and has taken care of everything else well

and with love of honour, for good fortune, the Council shall decide

to praise the treasurer, Hegetor son of Aristoboulos

of Oinoe, for his piety towards

the gods and his love of honour towards the People;

(20) and also to praise the secretary, Diodoros son of

Androkles of Aphidna<sup>V</sup>, and the secretary of the Council

and the People, Antimachos son of Ar- of - ,

and the under-secretary, Ar- son of - of - ,

and the herald of the Council and the People,

(25) Eukles of Berenikidai, and the pipe-player, Neokles of

Berenikidai, and to crown each of them with a foliage crown;

and the prytany secretary shall inscribe this decree

on a stone stele and stand it in the

prytanikon; and for the inscribing and making

(30) of the stele the administrators shall allocate the

expense accrued.

#### *Decree 2 (Assembly)*

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<sup>360</sup> On this heading see [4](#) with commentary.

<sup>361</sup> On the elements of the prescript cf. [sects. 2.3, 2.4](#).



### 3. The Inscriptions. 15 Decrees Honouring the Prytany of Ptolemais

In the archonship of Diodotos (192/1), who came after Phanarchides (193/2), in the twelfth prytany, of Ptolemais<sup>V</sup>, for which Prokles son of Perikles of Halai<sup>II</sup> was secretary. On the old and new day of Skirophorion, (35) the thirtieth of the prytany. Assembly in the theatre. Of the presiding committee -tos son of Krates of Eleusis<sup>IX</sup> was putting to the vote and his fellow presiding committee members. The People decided. Xenophon son of Euphantos

of Berenikidai<sup>V</sup> proposed:<sup>362</sup> concerning what the prytany of Ptolemais report about the sacrifices which they made before the Assemblies (40) to Apollo Prostaterios and Artemis Boulaia and the other gods to whom it was customary, for good fortune, the People shall decide to welcome the good results from the sacrifices, which they made for the health and preservation of the Council and the People and the children and women; and since the prytany made all the sacrifices which were proper (45) in the prytany well and with love of honour and also took care of convening the Council and the People and of everything else which the laws and the decrees prescribed for them; to praise the prytany of Ptolemais and to crown them with a gold crown, according to the law, for their piety towards the gods and their love (50) of honour towards the Council and the People of the Athenians; and the prytany secretary shall inscribe this decree on a stone stele and stand it in the prytanikon; and for the inscribing and making of the stele the administrators shall allocate the expense accrued.

<i>col. 1</i> (55) [The Council (crowns)] [Hegetor] [son of] [Aristoboulos] [of Oinoe]	<i>col. 2</i> (60) [The People (crowns)] [the] [prytany]	<i>col. 3</i> The Council (crowns) Diodoros (65) son of Androkles of Aphidna
<i>cols. 1-4</i> <i>not preserved</i>	<i>col. 5</i> -kos -os ... ... ...	<i>col. 6</i> (70) Kallikrates Prospalta Sosistratos -kleides ...

According to Otanes, the supporter of “democracy” in the debate on the constitutions staged by Herodotos 3.80 in Persia in 522 BC, alongside appointment by lot and accountability of officials, the relationship between Council and Assembly was one of the

<sup>362</sup> On the elements of the prescript cf. [sects. 2.3, 2.4](#).

three cornerstones of “rule of the mass” (πλῆθος δὲ ἄρχον), a constitution in which “all proposals are referred to the collective” (βουλευματα δὲ πάντα ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἀναφέρει),<sup>363</sup> and this relationship is an aspect of the Athenian democracy on which contemporaries placed considerable emphasis and to which the epigraphical record is eloquent witness. It had been a focus of attention in the constitutional upheavals of 411 BC, in which an attempt had been made to shift the balance of power from the Assembly to a smaller, more “oligarchic” Council of 400, a regime which was overthrown by Aristokrates and Theramenes precisely because, contrary to the principle formulated by Otanes, the Four Hundred decided everything themselves and referred nothing to the wider body of the Five Thousand.<sup>364</sup> It is probably not coincidental that it is shortly after this that we have our earliest evidence for a system designed to manipulate for the public good the value placed on honour in Athenian public life, and to optimise the operation of one of the key components in the relationship between Council and Assembly, the prytanies.

The prytanies were the tribal contingents of 50 men that functioned as the Council’s executive committee for a tenth of the year (in the period of 10 tribes). Their functions are set out by *Ath. Pol.* 43-44: the prytany members eat together at public expense in the rotunda in the Agora known as the *tholos*;<sup>365</sup> they convene meetings, and prescribe the business of the Council and Assembly; they receive, on the city’s behalf, heralds and envoys and official letters; and their chairman, in office for just a night and a day, keeps the keys of the sanctuaries in which are stored the city’s treasury and archives, and the public seal; and he and a third (*trittys*) of the prytany are obliged to remain on duty in the *tholos*. These were important duties, and it is not uncommon in fifth-century decrees to find the Assembly giving the prytany specific instructions.<sup>366</sup> Shortly after the restoration of the democracy following the oligarchic coup of 411 BC we have our earliest evidence for an official competition between the prytanies. The date that it was instituted is uncertain, but [IG I<sup>3</sup> 515](#), of 408/7 BC, is the earliest of a long series of dedications set up in tribal sanctuaries and commemorating “victories” in this annual competition, in this case by the prytany of Erechtheis. The competition continued through the fourth-century democracy and was unaffected, it seems, by the institution in ca. 378/7 BC of the “presiding committee” (*proedroi*), comprising nine members of the Council, one from each tribe except that in prytany, which, in a development characteristic of the Athenian democracy’s reluctance to endow any board of officials with significant powers, took over

<sup>363</sup> Hdt. 3.80.6. On this see most recently *IALD* II, 227-71. Otanes does not actually use the term “democracy” to describe this constitution, equating “rule of the mass” with *isonomia*. It is unclear whether this reflects an awareness on the part of Herodotos that “democracy” was an anachronistic term in 522 BC. Cf. Lambert 2018b.

<sup>364</sup> *Ath. Pol.* 33.2. Smaller Council more oligarchic: *Arist. Pol.* 1299b, 34. In practice in the Hellenistic period the size of the Council fluctuated in line with the number of tribes. From 307/6 BC, and again from 201/0 BC there were 12 tribes and the Council accordingly had 600 members. For a brief period between 223/2 and 201/0 there had been 13 tribes and the Council had 650 members.

<sup>365</sup> A few years after our decree, the *tholos* was refurbished. See [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 1300](#), of 181/0 BC.

<sup>366</sup> See e.g. [5](#), 28-37.

from the prytany responsibility for chairing the Council and the Assembly.<sup>367</sup> In the years following the dissolution of the Classical democracy by the Macedonians in 322/1 BC two developments took place which impacted on this system and its commemoration in the inscribed record. First, while prytanies continued to be honoured by the Assembly for the performance of their duties, the element of competition seems to have been removed. At least, inscriptions commemorating honours awarded to the prytanies cease to mention any competition; and there seem to be years in which more than one prytany was honoured.<sup>368</sup> Second, dedications by the prytanies in tribal sanctuaries were in due course superseded by stelai carrying the texts of relevant decrees of the Council and People, together with lists of the prytany honoured, initially in front of or near the Council chamber, later in the *prytanikon*, identifiable as the vicinity of the building in the Agora otherwise known as the *tholos*.<sup>369</sup> Division between Classical and Hellenistic practice is not clear-cut; the earliest inscribed prytany decree, [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 417](#), pre-dates the end of the Classical democracy. However, while there are prytany catalogues extant from the years of the restored democracy after 307/6 BC, it does not become normal practice to inscribe decrees of the Council and Assembly until the years following the liberation of the city from Demetrios Poliorketes, in the late 280s BC.<sup>370</sup>

By the 190s BC, therefore, the pattern of these decrees had been established for nearly a century, and although there was some evolution in detail the scheme throughout this period remained broadly the same. Two decrees were conventionally inscribed, a decree of the Council, based on a report from the prytany, honouring the prytany treasurer and other officials; and a decree of the People, also based on a report from the prytany, honouring the prytany itself.

Before we consider our decrees in detail, however, it will be helpful to locate them in the context of other inscribed decrees honouring Athenians at this period. In the generation between the liberation of Athens in 229 and the 190s BC, the prytany decree was one of three formulaic types that account for nearly all decrees honouring Athenians, the other two being decrees honouring ephebes and decrees honouring the managers of the Eleusinian Mysteries. Together these decrees formed a trio “highly significant for the idea of itself (an idea which can be traced back at least as far as Pericles’ funerary oration) that the city wished to convey, to itself and to outsiders: a political show-case, a paideutic

<sup>367</sup> On the extension of the competition through the fourth-century democracy see [Lambert 2018a](#). If the argument of that paper is correct, the prytany dedications, which from 357/6 BC carry the formula “having been crowned by the Council and People”, began to be publicly funded from that date. On the *proedroi* cf. [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 476](#), and the discussions of their listing by name in [13](#) and [14](#), above.

<sup>368</sup> The latest dated reference to a “victory” is in [IG II<sup>3</sup> 4, 86](#), of 327/6 BC. There are prytany catalogues of 304/3 BC for both Aiantis (*Agora* XV 59 + *SEG* 28.154) and Antigonis (*Agora* XV 60). In the third century [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 921](#) (Aigeis) and [922](#) (Erechtheis) both date to 265/4 BC; [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 1152](#) (Aiantis), perhaps dates to 222/1 BC, the same year as [1153](#) (Akamantis).

<sup>369</sup> For a plan of the “area of the *prytanikon*” see *Agora* XV plate 1.

<sup>370</sup> The earliest dated Assembly decree of the third century honouring a prytany is [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 880](#), of 283/2 BC, cf. [886](#), [887](#), [888](#) etc.

beacon, and a festival centre sans pareil.”<sup>371</sup> Of these three types, the prytany decree was the most common, accounting for about a third of all inscribed decrees of the Council and Assembly in this generation (ca. 40 of 120). Indeed they are sufficiently numerous to document the collapse of the restriction of service on the Council to twice in a lifetime which had acted as a key guarantee of the Council’s democratic constitution in the Classical period.<sup>372</sup> At one level these decrees enact a carefully staged choreography between prytany, Council and Assembly, projecting an impression of the democratic propriety of the Council’s relations with the Assembly, a propriety emphasised by the convention that the Assembly’s decree was non-probouleumatic in formulation (i.e. not a mere approval of the Council’s own proposal). This was, however, to an extent a facade behind which the realities of power since the late Classical period had shifted from Assembly to Council, for this emphasising of the independence of the Assembly took place against the background of a shift in the character of the large majority of inscribed decrees from non-probouleumatic in the late Classical democracy (i.e. formulated on the basis of a proposal in the Assembly) to probouleumatic in the period after 229 BC (i.e. based on approval by the Assembly of the Council’s proposal).<sup>373</sup>

A number of specific points about these particular decrees are noteworthy. First, of the two decrees, the Assembly’s decree usually enjoyed pride of place on the stone. In this inscription, like a few others,<sup>374</sup> the Council’s decree comes first. This has its own logic in chronological order, since the Council decree was passed on day 27 of prytany 12, three days before the Assembly decree, on day 30 of prytany 12, of a year which, on the chronological scheme adopted by *IG II<sup>3</sup>*, is identified as 192/1 BC.<sup>375</sup> As we learn from l.

<sup>371</sup> [Lambert 2014a](#), 20. For a review of the prytany decrees in the context of the corpus of Athenian decrees of the period 229/8-198/7 BC see [Lambert 2014a](#), 21-25.

<sup>372</sup> For bibliography on this topic see *IALD II*, 261. Four men are now attested as three-time councillors in the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> century, and as Byrne 2009 clearly demonstrates, there are also many more men attested as two-time councillors than would be expected, given the quality of our evidence, which, though relatively abundant thanks to the prytany lists, is still patchy.

<sup>373</sup> On this distinction see [sect. 2.2](#). In the period 352/1-322/1 BC the statistics are, Council decrees or *probouleumata*: 15; probouleumatic Assembly decrees: 27; non-probouleumatic Assembly decrees: at least 64-73, plus 11 riders. Moreover most of the probouleumatic decrees at this period were followed on the stone by a rider proposed in the Assembly (see *IALD II*, 231-57). In contrast, in the period 229/8-198/7 BC there are 40 probouleumatic decrees, 6 non-probouleumatic (excluding decrees honouring prytanies, which were non-probouleumatic as a matter of form), and the probouleumatic decrees have ceased to be followed on the stone by riders proposed in the Assembly. In contrast to the earlier period, no decree at this later period results from a *probouleuma* commissioned by the Assembly (*IALD II*, 262). As I noted there, given that honorific decrees (for both foreigners and Athenians) were a significant component of the bread-and-butter decisions of the Assembly in the earlier period and represented the bulk of the inscribed decrees at that period, and given that honorific decrees (for both foreigners and Athenians) represented the only category of decree erected at public initiative and expense in the later period, “the data would seem to indicate clearly the decline of the Assembly as a forum for substantive debate, when compared with the period 352/1-322/1”.

<sup>374</sup> *IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 1274* (189/8 BC), [1307](#) (180/79 or 179/8 BC), *Agora XV 222* (archon Aristolas).

<sup>375</sup> The designation of the year as “the archonship of Diodotos, who came after Phanarchides” (Il. 2, 32) is unique and presumably intended to distinguish this Diodotos from other archons of that name (another Diodotos was archon in 204/3 BC, *IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 1176*, ll. 6-7). There is no other extant

2 the tribe Ptolemais held the twelfth prytany of the relevant year. In other words the decrees honouring the performance of the duties of the prytany of Ptolemais were passed at the end of the prytany in which it held office. This is natural enough, though there is no uniformity in timing of prytany decrees across the genre. There is even one case, [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 983](#), of 259/8 BC, in which the Assembly's decree honouring the prytany of Aigeis was passed as early as the eleventh of the prytany, which was the first of the year. Interestingly this is recognised in the text of the decree, which refers to a single sacrifice before a single meeting of the Assembly instead of the usual plural sacrifices before plural Assemblies. After the surrender of the Athenians to Antigonos in 262 BC, the Macedonian royal family was included among the beneficiaries of sacrifices by the prytany, and they were duly named in ll. 11-12 of the decree of 259/8 BC (though the names were later erased in the *damnatio memoriae* of the Antigonids in 200 BC). As Meritt and Traill commented: "it is apparent that the Demos was impatient to register its loyalty and to pay homage to Antigonos and his family. The performance of Aigeis for the rest of their term was taken for granted, and we are left with the conviction that these praises not only here but in general must have been rather perfunctory and very much of a mere formality".<sup>376</sup> A formality it may have been, but the ritual repetition of formalities of this kind nonetheless had significance in engraining and reinforcing important political values.

Two aspects of the duties of the prytany are singled out in the text of our Assembly decree: performance of sacrifices "before the Assemblies" to Apollo Prostaterios and Artemis Boulaia (39-41), and the convening of the Council and Assembly (45-46). As we have seen, the second of these duties was also mentioned in the *Ath. Pol.*'s account of the prytany's duties. At that time the Council met every day, except for holidays;<sup>377</sup> we do not know how frequently it met by the 190s BC. The Assembly normally met four times in a prytany at the time of *Ath. Pol.*<sup>378</sup> Again we do not know how often it met by the 190s, but there are some indications that meetings may have been less frequent. At least, there are only two prytanies across the entire third century in which two meetings are explicitly attested;<sup>379</sup> and the meetings of the Council and Assembly recorded in our inscription are the only meetings of those bodies attested in the year of Diodotos after Phanarchides.

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decree dated to this year (with the possible exception of the very fragmentary [1264](#), which might alternatively date to 178/7 BC), but several decrees are extant from the archonship of Phanarchides: [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 1260, 1261](#) and [1262](#). Cf. *IG II<sup>3</sup> 1* fasc. 5, pp. 290-92, *Tabula archontum*. On the reconstruction of the chronology of these years adopted in *IG II<sup>3</sup> 1*, the secretary of this year, taken to be 192/1 BC, Prokles son of Perikles [of Halai]<sup>II</sup>, duly held office according to the tribal cycle behind a secretary from Lamptraí<sup>I</sup>, in office in the archonship of Phanarchides, 193/2 BC. This reconstruction is not entirely secure, however, since as the 13<sup>th</sup> year of the 13<sup>th</sup> Metonic cycle 192/1 BC should be intercalary, not ordinary, as the text of our decree seems to require (it is impossible to restore l. 35 to yield a calendar equation for an intercalary year), and we can not be certain that there was not an irregularity in the secretary cycle rather than the Metonic cycle. On the secretary cycle see [sect. 2.3](#), on the Metonic cycle [sect. 2.4](#).

<sup>376</sup> *Agora XV*, pp. 6-7.

<sup>377</sup> *Ath. Pol.* 43.3.

<sup>378</sup> *Ath. Pol.* 43.3.

<sup>379</sup> This point is discussed at *IALD II*, 259-60, which rejects arguments based on garbled late sources that the Assembly met three times in a prytany in the Hellenistic period.



These phenomena, however, are at least partly a product of the thinner evidence base for this later period; and, as we have seen, the language of the prytany decrees themselves implies that there was usually more than one Assembly in a prytany.

The Council usually met in the Council chamber, but occasionally in other locations. Meetings in the Panathenaic stadium (6-7) are attested in the third prytanies of 215/4 BC, [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 1161](#), l. 4, of 203/2 BC, [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 1176](#), ll. 3-4, and 37/6 or 36/5 BC, [IG II<sup>2</sup> 1043](#), l. 4 (Council meeting transferred from the Panathenaic stadium to the theatre); but this is the only example of a meeting there at the end of a year. The Assembly that passed decree II on the other hand took place in the theatre. Assemblies had occasionally taken place in the theatre (i.e. of Dionysos) in the fourth century,<sup>380</sup> in the period 229/8-168/7 BC there is an increase in the number of meetings designated as taking place in the theatre or the Piraeus.<sup>381</sup>

Apart from the convening of meetings, the other duty of the prytany explicitly mentioned in decree 2 is the due performance of sacrifices to Apollo Prostaterios and Artemis Boulaia “and the other gods to whom it is customary”. We hear nothing about these sacrifices in the *Ath. Pol.* or any other Classical source, but they appear (initially less explicitly worded) in the earliest third-century prytany decrees.<sup>382</sup> The historical record does not enable us to pin down any other specific duties that this prytany may have performed, and we know nothing about the other prytanies of this year.

The proposer of both decrees was Xenophon son of Euphantos of Berenikidai. Although he was clearly on the Council this year, it is notable that, despite this, he proposed decree 2 in the Assembly as non-probouleumatic. It was patently important that these decrees should acknowledge in this way the sovereignty of the Assembly over the Council, though the reality behind the constitutional facade seems, as we noted above, to have been rather different.

<sup>380</sup> In the Classical democracy this was normally limited to the special Assembly that took place in the theatre of Dionysos after the City Dionysia, as e.g. [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 306](#), l. 22. Cf. *IALD*, chapter 15. The evidence for special Assemblies in the theatre after other dramatic festivals has been weakened by Canevaro and Harris’ demonstration that the law inserted into the text of Dem. 21.10, which seems to imply such Assemblies, is not authentic (see E. M. Harris, in Canevaro 2013, 216-23).

<sup>381</sup> *IALD* II, 260 n. 79. The rationale cannot be explored here, but it doubtless has partly to do with the physical development of relevant meeting places. Note for example the suggestion of J. Camp that Pnyx III (begun third quarter of 4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC?) was left unfinished because the new theatre (developed around the same time) was found more convenient for the Assembly than the Pnyx (in B. Forsén and G. S. Stanton eds., *The Pnyx in the History of Athens*, 1996, 45-46; for the dating of Pnyx III to the third quarter of 4<sup>th</sup> cent. see S. Rotroff and J. Camp, *Hesp.* 65, 1996, 263-94).

<sup>382</sup> Apollo Prostaterios first explicitly in 273/2 BC, [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 900](#), l. 6, Artemis Boulaia in 259/8 BC, [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 983](#), l. 8, but there is an unspecific reference to sacrifices before the Assemblies already in 283/2 BC, [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 880](#), l. 10. The altar of Artemis Boulaia in the Agora is also referred to in other Hellenistic contexts, e.g. [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 1150](#) with [Lambert 2014a](#), p. 11. Apollo Prostaterios is now known as recipient of a sacrifice in the later phase of the revision of the city’s calendar of sacrifices, 403/2-400/399 BC, [SEG 52.48A](#) F5 with AIO’s note. Whether this sacrifice is identical with that offered by the prytanies in the Hellenistic evidence is obscure. In any case these deities would seem to be distinct from the Zeus Boulaios and Athena Boulaia who had altars in the Council chamber mentioned in Classical sources (Antiphon 6.45, etc.; Parker 2005, 404-5).

The deme Berenikidai belonged to the tribe Ptolemais and had been founded together with it in 224/3 BC in honour of Berenike, wife of Ptolemy III Euergetes.<sup>383</sup> Xenophon was therefore a member of the prytany whose honours he proposed, and his identity may offer an (albeit rather tenuous) clue as to the political dynamic underlying this decree. The Ptolemies were staunch patrons of Athens in the years following the liberation of 229 BC.<sup>384</sup> Xenophon's affiliation to Berenikidai makes it difficult to track this family back beyond 224/3 BC, but the name pair Xenophon-Euphantos does not appear earlier than 224/3 BC in any other deme. It seems, therefore, that the family became prominent in the years following 229 BC. They appear to have been active in military contexts, and to have settled in Eleusis.<sup>385</sup> It is interesting that Xenophon was also active in the Council and Assembly. In addition to our two decrees, he proposed another (non-probouleumatic) Assembly decree, honouring the prytany of Kekropis in an unknown year, [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 1246](#). One wonders whether the Ptolemaic colouring of our decrees might have been more than a mere formality. Were there perhaps connections behind the scenes between Xenophon's military background and the assistance rendered to Athens by the Ptolemies at the time of the invasion of Attica by Philip V in 200 BC? It is tempting to think in this direction, though troubles in Alexandria seem to have prevented the Egyptian government from providing fully effective military support at that time. One also wonders if, among the envoys and/or letters that might have been received in Athens by the prytany of Ptolemais in this year, there might have been a connection with the "regular embassies" from Greece to Alexandria at this period attested by Polybios.<sup>386</sup>

The features of the so-called "second" decree, i.e. that of the Council, placed first on the stone in this case, were well discussed by Meritt and Traill in 1974,<sup>387</sup> and their analysis remains broadly valid as applicable to our inscription, subject to adjustments for improvements in dating and new epigraphical finds. The earliest inscription preserving the

<sup>383</sup> On this deme see also [AIUK 8 \(Broomhall\)](#), p. 23.

<sup>384</sup> Cf. Habicht 1992; [Lambert 2014a](#), pp. 11-13.

<sup>385</sup> Euphantos, father of our Xenophon, proposed a very fragmentary decree, perhaps of soldiers stationed at Eleusis and/or Eleusinians and Athenians resident at Eleusis, ca. 225-200 BC, *I Eleus.* 203. Xenophon himself was on the committee appointed by Athenian soldiers stationed in Eleusis and Panakton and Phyle and the frontier patrols (*hypaithroí*) to erect a statue of their general, Demainetos of Athmonon, in ca. 209/8 BC, *I Eleus.* 211, l. 52. He was commemorated at Eleusis on the funerary columella, *IG II<sup>2</sup> 5888*.

<sup>386</sup> Polyb. 16.21.8, 18.54.3-4, cf. Habicht 1992, 75-77. Kephisodoros, the pre-eminent Athenian politician of the period of the Second Macedonian War, and honorand of [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 1292](#), had opposed Philip V "to the uttermost ... saw to it that Attalos and Ptolemy became allies of the Athenians ... sailed to Italy with other Athenians and supplicated the Romans to defend them" (Paus. 1.36.5-6, apparently based on his funerary monument). For approaches made by Athens to the Ptolemies for help against Philip V see also Livy 31.9.1 (Egyptian envoys informing the Roman Senate of such approaches). There seem, however, to be no extant honorific Assembly decrees of the 190s BC with a Ptolemaic colouring. [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 1277](#) documents the resumption of traditional diplomatic ties in 188/7 BC. The Ptolemies took a close interest in the Panathenaia, Habicht, 78-79, and one wonders whether this was connected in some way with the unusual Council meeting in the Panathenaic stadium, documented by our decree.

<sup>387</sup> *Agora* XV pp. 5-6.

separate decree of the Council, for example, *Agora* XV 84 = [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 888](#), is now dated to 279/8 BC, not 257/6 BC, as in 1974. As we have noted with some of the detailed arrangements to which the Assembly's decree bears witness, the arrangements implicit in the Council decree are largely unattested in the literary record. The Council decree was made on the initiative of the prytany itself and the panel of Council officials known as the *aeisitoi*, who seem, so their name suggests, to have enjoyed continuous public dining rights by virtue of their offices. The main focus of the decree in our case is the prytany treasurer, "whom they chose from among themselves", Hegetor of Oinoe (which was a deme of Ptolemais at this period), who is praised explicitly not, as one might have expected, for careful financial management, but for making all the appropriate sacrifices, the implication being presumably that these were a key object of expenditure from the treasury which he controlled.<sup>388</sup> Some skill seems to be implied; at least, the same man progressed to serving as treasurer of the whole Council (a separate office from the treasurer of the prytany) in 180/79 or 179/78 BC, [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 1307](#) ll. 10, 103-4; and his son was secretary of the Council in 177/6 BC.<sup>389</sup> There follows a long list of other officials who have served the prytany well, beginning with the secretary of the prytany, Diodoros son of Androkles of Aphidna, not otherwise attested in person, but from a family traceable as wealthy back in the fourth century.<sup>390</sup> Somewhat confusingly, he is a distinct official from the secretary of the whole Council, who, as the prescript of the decree informs us, was Prokles of Halai, and who is not praised by the prytany. That secretary is distinct again from the secretary of the Council and People, Antimachos son of Ar-, who is praised, together with his undersecretary, whose name in Ar- suggests that he was perhaps related. The secretary of the Council and People, unusually among the officials on this list, is mentioned by *Ath. Pol.* (54.5), which informs us that his function was to read out documents at meetings of the Council and People. Since Meritt and Traill wrote, this has been identified as the office held by the honorand of [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 327](#), Phyleus of Oinoe in 336/5 BC, praised in that decree alongside associates from the same deme, who, I have suggested, may be "assistant" secretaries, on a model not dissimilar from the implied relationship of Antimachos and his undersecretary in our text.<sup>391</sup> Finally two "career officials", as Meritt and Traill describe them, are praised, the herald (*keryx*) of the Council and People, Eukles of Berenikidai, and the pipe-player (*auletes*), Neokles of Berenikidai. The public heralds at Athens belonged to a long line of the same family, with names Eukles or Philokles, a tradition which began, it seems, as early as the restoration of the democracy in 403/2 BC, and extended until 140/39 BC.<sup>392</sup> The pipe-player was also a professional. He first appears in prytany inscriptions in the 220s BC, when he was Dexilaos of Halai,<sup>393</sup> succeeded by Neokles of Berenikidai between 210 and 200 BC.<sup>394</sup>

<sup>388</sup> The honorand of the very early prytany decree for Leontis, [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 417](#), may also have been the prytany treasurer, though the text is largely restored.

<sup>389</sup> [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 1311](#), l. 2; [1312](#), l. 2.

<sup>390</sup> Cf. *Athenian Onomasticon* s.v. Διόδωρος, Ἀνδροκλῆς, *APF* p. 32.

<sup>391</sup> *IALD*, 15-22.

<sup>392</sup> See *Agora* XVI 52 with *IALD* II, 137-38 and 148 no. 171. Cf. *Agora* XV, pp. 14-15. One of the tasks with which the herald was charged was the announcement of honours at the City Dionysia, as e.g. at [7](#), l. 15 (cf. [12](#), ll. 36-37, where, however, the herald is not specifically mentioned).

<sup>393</sup> [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 1144](#), l. 32.



Beneath the decrees are citations of the major honorands of the Council decree, the treasurer and secretary of the prytany, and between them, restored on the basis of parallels, a citation commemorating the Assembly's award of a crown to the prytany as a whole. From the following roster of the prytany members only one deme heading, Prospalta, and a few names or part-names are preserved.

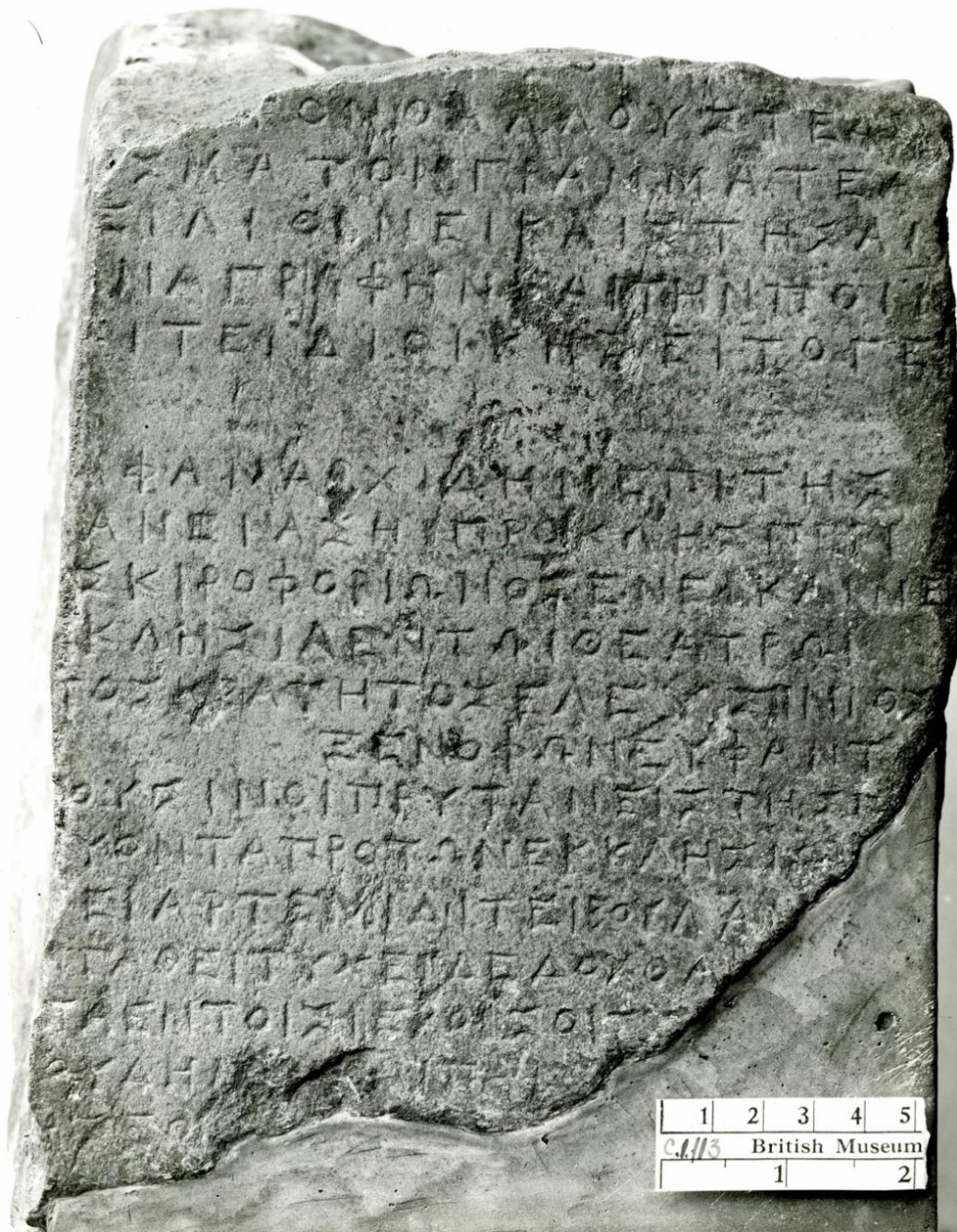


Fig. 15. 15 c © Trustees of the British Museum.

<sup>394</sup> [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 1231](#), l. 52. On exactly what occasions he played his pipes at this period is never made clear, but comparison with his much later successor, the *hieraulēs*, suggests that they included religious rituals (cf. *Agora* XV, pp. 11-12).

**16** THREE DECREES HONOURING THE EPHEBES, THEIR SUPERINTENDENT AND OFFICERS. EM 7606 (*a*), BM 1864,0220.21 (Lord Strangford's collection, cf. [sect. 1](#)) (*b*), Unknown (*c*), Lost (*d*). *a* Acropolis, east of the Propylaia, 1834 (Pittakis); *b* Athens in house of Stamataki-Hadgi (in area of Church of St. Demetrios Katephores), 1816 (*CIG*), Acropolis ? (Pittakis), cf. [sect. 1](#); *d* in eastern part of Athens (Pittakis). Four fragments of a stele of white marble, associated by Koehler. *a* (preserving the right side of ll. 1-8) preserves right side and top, with rough-picked area above inscription, h. 0.31, w. 0.33, th. 0.225, *b* (left side ll. 4-32) preserves left side, h. 0.40, w. 0.355, th. 0.085 (underlined letters recorded by Pouqueville and Brønsted ap. *CIG*). L. h. 0.007. On the lettering see [sect. 2.5](#).

Eds. *a* J. L. Ussing, *Inscriptiones Graecae Ineditae* (1848), no. 67; K. S. Pittakis, *Eph. Arch.* 1853, no. 1805 (Rangabé 1855, no. 2324); *b* *CIG* I 117\* (from Pouqueville, *Itin.* IV p. 105; different readings reported by Brønsted from autopsy in museum of Lord Strangford, *CIG* I p. 901); Pittakis 1835, 302 (Rangabé 1855, no. 798; Le Bas and Waddington, 413); Hicks, *GIBM* I 39; *d* K. S. Pittakis, *Eph. Arch.* 1842, no. 855; Le Bas and Waddington, 531; *a-d* *IG* II 478 (*c* from archive of Mystoxydis); *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1042.

Cf. Wilhelm 2006, 185 no. 9; 259-61 no. 35.10; Haake 2007, 50-51; Lambert and Schneider 2019. Autopsy Lambert 2018 (*a*), 2019 (*b*), Pitt's squeeze (*b*). In store. *Fig.* 16 (*b*).

40/39 or 39/8 BC

*Decree 1 (Honours for sacrifices)*

*a*

[----- εἶπεν· ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀπανγγέλλει ὁ κοσμητ[ῆς τῶν ἐφήβων] non-stoich.

[---- ος -ενίδου Μαραθώνιος ὑπ]έρ τῆς θυσίας ἧς ἔθυσε[ν μετὰ τῶν ἐφή]-

[βων ἐν τῷ πρυτανείῳ τὰ εἰσιτητήρια τῇ τε Ἑ]στία καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θ[εοῖς οἷς πάτριον]

*b* ἦν ὑπέρ τε τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ [δήμου καὶ παίδων καὶ γ]υναικῶν καὶ τῶν φίλων [καὶ  
συμμάχων]

(5) καὶ γεγόνειν πᾶσι τοῖς θύμα[σι τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ καὶ σωτ]ήρια· <sup>'''</sup> ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ δε[δόχθαι  
τῇ βουλῇ].

τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ δέχεσθαι τὰ γεγονό[τα ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς οἷς ἔθυσεν ἐφ' ὑ]γιείᾳ καὶ σωτηρίᾳ  
τῇ[ς βουλῆς καὶ]

[τοῦ δήμ]ου καὶ παίδων καὶ γυ[να]ικῶν καὶ τῶν φίλω[ν· ἐπαινέσαι δ]ὲ τὸν κοσμη[τὴν -  
-- ον]

[. . .]ενίδου Μαραθών[ι]ον καὶ τοὺς ἐφή[βους καὶ στεφανῶσαι ἕκαστ]ον αὐτῶ[ν θαλλοῦ  
στεφάν]-

[ωι ἐπὶ τῇ πρὸ[ς <τοὺς> θ]εοὺς εὐσε[βείᾳ καὶ τῇ παρ' ὅλον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν σπουδῇ καὶ  
φιλοπονίᾳ],

(10) [ἴνα] τού[τω]ν [συ]ντελουμένων[ν φαίνηται] ἡ βουλὴ [τιμῶσα αὐτοὺς ἀξίως τῆς  
ἐπιβαλλούσης τιμῆς].

*Decree 2 (Honours for superintendent of ephebes)*

[. . . ὧ]ν Ἀνθεστηρίου Εἰκαριεύ[ς] εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ π[ρόσοδον ποιησάμενοι οἱ  
ἐφηβεύσαντες]



3. The Inscriptions. 16 Three Decrees Honouring the Ephebes, their Superintendent and Officers

[ἐπὶ Ν]ικάνδρου ἄρχοντος (41/0 or 40/39) καὶ οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν ἐ[μφανίζουσιν τὸν  
κοσμητὴν - - - ον -ενίδου]

[Μα]ρ[α]θώνιον πεποιθῆσθαι αὐτῶν τὴν καθήκο[υσαν ἐπιμέλειαν - - - - -]

. . .<sup>5</sup>. . . πρῶτον μὲν θύσαντα τὰς καθηκούσα[ς - - θυσίας - - ὑπὲρ - - - - τῆς τῶν]

(15) [ἐφ]ήβ[ων] σωτηρίας ἔν τε τοῖς λοιποῖς διατ[ηρήσαντα - - - ἑαυτὸν ἄξιον - - - -  
- τῆς τοῦ δήμου]

[χε]ρ[ο]τονίας καὶ τῆς περὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν σεμνότη[τος - - - - -]

. . . . ι διατεταγμένοις περὶ τῆς τῶν ἐφήβ[ων] - - - - -]

[- - -]ς εὖνοιαν ἴσιν πᾶσιν ἐναποδεδείχθαι, π[ρο]τρεπόμενον δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν  
ἐπιτη]-

δευμάτων ταῖς τε τῶν φιλοσόφων καὶ ῥητόρ[ων] καὶ γραμματικῶν σχολαῖς παρακαθίζειν·  
παρατυγχά]-

(20) ν[ε]ιν δὲ καὶ ταῖς ὑπὸ τῶν λοιπῶν αἰεὶ γεινομέ[ναις ἀκροάσεσιν, ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δὲ  
καὶ τῆς ἐν ὅ]-

πλοις καὶ ἵππικῆς ἀσκήσεως πολυφροντίσ[τως - - - - - ταῖς ἀ]-

ποδείξεσιν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀγώνων ὥ[ν - - - - -]

[. .]αῖς αἷς οἱ νόμοι καὶ ἡ πατρίς προσέτα[ττον - - - - - μηδενὸς]

[κ]αθυστερῆσαι εἑαυτοὺς μήτε ἐν τ[- - - - -]

(25) [ὑπ]ὲρ τῆς πατρίδος τιμὴ καὶ μα[- - - - -]

[ἐαυ]τὸν παρεσχῆσθαι δι' ὅλο[ν τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ - - - - -]

[παρ]ακαλοῦσιν ἐστεφανω[- - - - - ἐπιχωρῇ]-

[σαι τ]ὸν δῆμον αὐτοῖς αἰ[τη]σαμένοις - - - - -]

[ἐπ]ιγραφὴν τήνδε· ἡ β[ουλή - - - - -]

(30) [ἐπ]ὶ Νικάνδρου ἄρχ[οντος (41/0 or 40/39) - - - - - ψήφισ]-

[μ]α εἰς στήλην λ[ιθίνην - - - - - δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλ]-

[ῆ]ι τοὺς λαχόν[τας προέδρους εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἐκκλησίαν χρηματίσαι περὶ τούτων κτλ.]

- - - - -

- - - - -

c [ἵνα τούτων συντελουμένων φαίνηται ἡ βουλή τὴν καθήκουσαν πρόνοιαν ποιουμένη τῆς  
τῶν ἐφήβων]

[ἀγ]ωγῆς κα[ὶ τι]μῶσ[α τοῦ]ς ἀγαθοὺς τῶν ἀνδρ[ῶν].

Decree 3 (Honours for ephebes and their officers)

[- - -]-

(35) [ω]ν Ἀνθε[σ]τηρίου Εἰκαριεύς εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἔ[φηβοι οἱ ἐπὶ Νικάνδρου ἄρχοντος  
(41/0 or 40/39) ἀπὸ τῆς πρώ]-

[τη]ς ἡλικίας ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ καθεστήκασιν διάγο[ντες ? - - - - -]

.ς πεποίηνται τῷ τε κοσμητ[ῇ] κα[ὶ] τοῖς παιδευ[ταῖς - - - - -]

τὰ τῆς πόλεως συμφ[έρ]ον[τα] ἔξ ἑτο<ί>μου πρ[άτ]τοντες - - - - - οὐδένα κο]-

πον περικλείον[τες] περὶ τ[ε] τὴν ἐατῶν σωφρο[σύνην - - - - -]

(40) ταῖς τε τῶν φιλοσόφων καὶ ῥητόρων καὶ γραμματικῶν [σχο]λαῖς καὶ ταῖς ὑπὸ τῶν  
λοιπῶν αἰεὶ γει]-

νομέναις ἀκροάσεσιν παρατυγχάνοντες, περὶ τε τ[ὴν ἐν τοῖς γράμμασιν ἀσκήσιν καὶ τὴν  
ἐν τοῖς ὅ]-

πλοῖς γυμνασίαν καὶ τὴν περὶ τὰ ἵππικ[ά] φιλοπονίαν [- - - - -]  
 πεποιοῦνται πρεπόντως ἑαυτοῖς, ἐπὶ τε τῶν ἱερῶ[ν ἀγώνων - - - - -]  
 τάς τε καθηκούσας ἑαυτοῖς ἐξόδους [κ]ατ[ὰ τὴν χώραν - - - - - τοὺς]  
 (45) θεοὺς θυσία[ι]ς καὶ τιμαῖς μεγαλομερῶς ἀν[- - - - - ἀξί]-  
 ως ἑαυτῶν καὶ τῆς πατρίδος, ἔν τε ταῖς π[ο]μπαῖς - - - - -]  
 [. τ]ῶν τε τελετῶν ἀπασ[ῶν ὧ]ν πάτριον ἦν [- - - - -]

*d* - - - - - τ[ῆ]ν τ[ῶ]ν βυβλίων ἀνάθεσιν ἐποιήσ[αντο]  
 [- - - - - τε]ρον τῶν λοιπῶν καθιερωσάι ἐμ πᾶσ-  
 (50) [ιν - - - - - σεμ]νῶς καὶ φιλοτείμως καὶ μεγαλομερῶς ἀν-  
 [αστρεφόμενοι· ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ, τοὺς λαχόντας προέδρους εἰς τὴν  
 ἐπιούσ-  
 [αν ἐκκλησίαν χρηματίσαι περὶ τούτων, γνώμη]ν [δ]ὲ [Ξυ]νβάλλεσθαι τῆς βουλῆς εἰς τὸν  
 δῆμο[ν]  
 [ὅτι δοκεῖ τῇ βουλῇ ἐπαινέσαι τοὺς ἐφήβους] το[ύ]ς ἐ[π]ὶ Νικάνδρου ἄρχοντος (41/0 or  
 40/39) καὶ στεφανῶ[σ]-  
 [αι αὐτοὺς χρυσῶι στεφάνωι ἐφ' ἧ πεποίη]νται εὐτα[ξίαι] καὶ τῇ περὶ τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν  
 ἐ[πιτηδ]-  
 (55) [ευμάτων σπουδῇ, καὶ ἀνειπεῖν τὸν στέ]φανον Διον[υ]σ[ί]ων τραγῳδῶν τῶι καινῶι  
 ἀγῶ[νι]  
 [- - - τῆς δὲ ἀναγορεύσεως τοῦ στεφ]άνου [ἐπι]με[λη]θῆ[ναι] τοὺς τε στρατηγοὺς καὶ τ-  
 [ὸν ταμίαν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν· ἐπαινέσαι δὲ κ]αὶ τοὺς παιδευτὰς αὐτῶν τὸν τε  
 παιδοτρίβην  
 [- - - - - καὶ τὸν γραμμ]ατέ[α Ἀ]λέξανδρον Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἀλαιέα καὶ τ-  
 [ὸν - - - - -] καὶ τὸν ὀπλομάχον διὰ τοῦ ἐνιαυ-  
 (60) [τοῦ - - - - - ἄρ]ξαντας τοῖς ἐφ[ήβ]οις, καὶ στεφανῶσαι ἕκαστο[ν]  
 [αὐτῶν θαλλοῦ στεφάνωι ἐφ' ἧ πεποιοῦνται] ἀν[α]στροφῇ· ἐπ[ι]χωρῆσαι δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ  
 πίνα-  
 [κα - - ἀναθεῖναι - ἀναγράψαι] δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων εἰς] στήλη[ν] κ-  
 [αὶ στήσαι ἐν ᾧ ἂν τόπωι βούληται - -]ος Μαραθώνιος, ἵνα τούτων συντελουμένω[ν]  
 [ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος φαίνωνται τιμῶντες τοὺς ἀπὸ] τῆς πρ[ώ]της ἡλικίας τῶν νέων  
 ἐπιδι-  
 (65) [δόντας ἑαυτοὺς ἐπὶ τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ γί]νων[ται] καὶ ἕτεροι  
 ζηλωταὶ τῶν  
 [ὁμοίων].  
 - - - - - ?

I have silently made minor adjustments to readings from autopsy of *a* and *b*. I was able to confirm some of the readings of *a* made by Pouqueville and Brønsted, underlined in *IG II*<sup>2</sup>. I underline those readings that I was unable to confirm. Rest. Koehler, on the basis of similarly worded inscriptions, especially [IG II<sup>2</sup> 1039](#) and [1043](#). 15 fin. 18. 19 fin. 23 fin. 36 med. 49-50. 51 in. Wilhelm (*IG II*<sup>2</sup>), 20 fin. Klaffenbach (*IG II*<sup>2</sup>) || 2 θυσίας ἧς ἔθυσεν Lambert, ἦν eds. || 8 (cf. 2 and 12) Εὐγενίδου *PAA* vol. 7, p. 185. I was unable to confirm || 9 πρὸς τοὺς θε[ο]οὺς eds., but

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spacing is ΠΡΟ[. <sup>2-3</sup>.]ΕΟΥΣ || 10 fin. Wilhelm 2006, 259-61 no. 35.10 || 12 ΑΡΧΟΝΤΕΣ stone || 24 ἐαυτοὺς eds. || 38-39 in. 41 fin. Wilhelm 2006, 185 no. 9, who noted that Mustoxydis' transcript as attested by E. Preuner, *Ath. Mitt.* 49, 1924, 108, records more legible text in ll. 38-39 than was printed in *IG II<sup>2</sup>* || 49 ἀφόβως [ἔτε]ρον Pittakis, ΑΦΟΒΟΘ/////ΡΟΝ Le Bas || 59 -χον Λουκολόπαπον ὀπλόμαχον Pittakis, /ΟΝΛΟΥΚ Ο Ο ΚΑΤΟΝΟΠΛΟΜΑΧΟΝ Le Bas || 65-66 ζηλωταὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν - | - [γένων]τ[αί], Pittakis, ΙΗΛΩΤΑΙΤΩΝ Le Bas.

*Fragments ab*

*Decree 1 (Honours for sacrifices)*

. . . proposed: concerning the report which the superintendent of the ephebes,  
- son of -enides of Marathon, makes about the sacrifice that he made with the ephebes  
in the city hall, the entry-sacrifices for Hestia and the other gods for whom it was traditional,  
on behalf of the Council and the People and the children and women and the friends and allies,  
(5) and that with all the victims the sacrifices turned out fine and salutary; for good fortune, the  
Council shall decide,  
to accept the good things that took place at the sacrifices which he made for the health and  
preservation of the Council and  
the People and the children and women and the friends; and to praise the superintendent -  
son of -enides of Marathon and the ephebes and crown each of them with a foliage crown  
for their piety towards the gods and their zeal and love of toil throughout the year,  
(10) in order that, these things being brought to pass, the Council may be seen to be honouring  
them worthily of the honour they deserve.

*Decree 2 (Honours for superintendent of ephebes)*

-on son of Anthesterios of Ikarion proposed: since those who were ephebes  
in the archonship of Nikandros (41/0 or 40/39) and their fathers, having made an approach, make  
clear that their superintendent - son of -enides  
of Marathon has given them the proper supervision . . .  
first having sacrificed the proper sacrifices . . . [on behalf of]  
(15) the preservation of the ephebes, and having conducted himself in other matters in a manner  
worthy of . . .  
his election [by the People] and the dignity of his office . . .  
. . . arrangements concerning the - of the ephebes . . .  
. . . to have shown equal good-will to all, guiding them towards the finest pursuits,  
and to attend the schools of the philosophers and orators and grammarians;  
(20) and to be present at whatever lectures were given by others, and took care of the  
weapons drill and the cavalry drill in a very thoughtful manner . . . also in  
the demonstrations at the sacred contests which . . .  
in the - which the laws and the fatherland prescribed . . .  
they did not let themselves down in anything, nor in . . .  
(25) on behalf of the fatherland honour and . . .  
showing himself throughout the whole year . . .  
they invite, crowned . . .  
the People shall permit them, having requested . . .

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this inscription; the Council . . . in  
(30) the archonship or Nikandros (41/0 or 40/39) . . . the decree  
on a stone stele . . . the Council shall decide  
that the presiding committee allotted to preside at the forthcoming Assembly shall put these  
matters on the agenda . . .

. . .  
. . .

*Fragment c*

[in order that, these things being brought to pass, the Council may be seen to be paying proper  
attention to the]  
training of the ephebes and to be honouring good men.

*Decree 3 (Honours for ephebes and their officers)*

(35) - son of Anthesterios of Ikarion proposed: since the ephebes in the archonship of  
Nikandros (41/0 or 40/39) from the first  
age of manhood have established themselves as good men, spending their time (?) . . .  
and have made for their superintendent and their tutors (?) . . .  
readily doing what is in the interests of the city . . .  
shirking no exertion both as regards their own self-control . . .  
(40) and being present at the schools of the philosophers and orators and grammarians and  
whatever lectures were given by others, and concerning their exercises in grammar and their  
athletics in arms and their love of toil in cavalry training . . .  
they have performed in a manner befitting to themselves, and at the sacred contests . . .  
expeditions suitable to themselves across the country . . .  
(45) the gods with sacrifices and honours magnificently . . .  
worthily of themselves and the fatherland, both in the processions  
of all the religious ceremonies which were traditional . . .  
. . .

*Fragment d*

. . . they made the dedication of the books  
. . . to devote themselves in everything else  
(50) . . . conducting themselves solemnly and with love of honour and magnificently;  
for good fortune, the Council shall decide, that the presiding committee allotted to preside at the  
forthcoming  
Assembly shall put these matters on the agenda, and submit the opinion of the Council to the  
People  
that it seems good to the Council to praise the ephebes of the archonship of Nikandros (41/0 or  
40/39) and crown  
them with a gold crown for the discipline which they displayed and their zeal for the finest of  
pursuits,  
(55) and to announce the crown at the competition for new tragedies of the Dionysia

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... and the generals and the treasurer of the stratiotic fund shall take care of the announcement of the crown; and to praise also their tutors, their trainer,  
... and their secretary Alexandros son of Alexandros of Halai, and the  
... and their weapons trainer, throughout the year  
(60) ... having held office with the ephebes, and to crown each  
of them with a foliage crown for the conduct which they displayed; and to permit them also to  
dedicate a painting ... and to inscribe this decree with the others on a stele  
and [stand it in whatever place -] of Marathon [may choose], in order that, these things being  
brought to pass,  
the Council and the People may be seen to honour those young men who from the first age of  
manhood devote  
(65) themselves to the finest pursuits, and that others may also become zealous  
for the same.  
... ?

The ephebate was a system of “national service” for young Athenian citizen males between the ages of 18 and 20, known to us largely after it was established on a reformed basis in ca. 335 BC. By the end of the fourth century the term of service had been reduced to a year, and participation became limited to a much narrower social and political elite. Thanks to rich epigraphical documentation, we can trace the development of the institution in some detail through the Hellenistic and Roman periods. From what was probably the very first year of the new system, 334/3 BC, it was customary for the ephebes to dedicate monuments commemorating their service. This was initially on a tribal basis, and the monuments were sometimes inscribed with decrees of the relevant tribe and other bodies (e.g. the deme in which the ephebes had been stationed), and sometimes accompanied by a roster of the ephebes.<sup>395</sup> In the third century, however, following the notable service rendered by the ephebes in the Chremonidean War, it became customary for the Assembly to inscribe a decree honouring the entire year-class of ephebes,<sup>396</sup> a practice which was maintained until the late first century BC, after which ephebic rosters continued to be inscribed, but were no longer accompanied by decrees.<sup>397</sup>

Our decree belongs to the latest phase of the inscribed decrees, which spans the period between the sack of the city by Sulla in 86 BC and Augustus. They have been discussed in an illuminating essay by Eric Perrin-Saminadayar,<sup>398</sup> and the texts and dates of the two longer ones were restudied by Lambert and Schneider in 2019. Apart from our

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<sup>395</sup> For fuller documentation of the ephebate in the Classical democracy see [RO 89](#) with AIO's notes (monuments inscribed with tribal and deme decrees) and [IG II<sup>3</sup> 4, 329](#) with AIO's notes (dedications without decrees). For discussion of the ephebate in the 4<sup>th</sup> century see Friend 2019.

<sup>396</sup> Cf. [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 917, 957, 981, 986, 1003](#) etc.; [Lambert 2014a](#), pp. 20-21, 25-26; Perrin 2007. For the ephebic dedications of the Hellenistic and Roman periods see [IG II<sup>3</sup> 4, 357-425](#).

<sup>397</sup> Perrin 2004, 91, identifies the earliest firmly dated “new-style” roster without decree as *IG II<sup>2</sup> 1963* of 13/2 BC (archon Zeno). Four ephebic inscriptions of the Roman period are in the BM's collection and will be edited in *AIUK 4.3*. Several will be included in *AIUK 11* (*Ashmolean Museum, Oxford*). The ephebes also feature prominently in the last decree in this collection, [17](#).

<sup>398</sup> Perrin 2004. The older systematic study, Pélékidis 1962, also remains useful (chapter 3 discusses the ephebate from 166 to 31 BC).



inscription there are four which preserve a significant amount of decree text: [IG II<sup>2</sup> 1039 +](#), for the ephebes of the archonship of Apollodoros, 80/79 BC; [IG II<sup>2</sup> 1041](#) for the ephebes of the archonship of Polycharmos, 44/3 or 43/2 BC; [IG II<sup>2</sup> 1043 +](#) for the ephebes of the archonship of Menandros, 38/7 or 37/6 BC; [IG II<sup>2</sup> 1040 +](#) for the ephebes of the archonship of Apolexis, ca. 20 BC.<sup>399</sup> Our inscription, for the ephebes of the archonship of Nikandros, belongs between [IG II<sup>2</sup> 1041](#) and [IG II<sup>2</sup> 1043 +](#), though there is currently a difference of opinion as to whether Nikandros held office in 41/0 or 40/39 BC.<sup>400</sup> All the decrees were passed in the archon year following the ephebate commemorated, usually in early Boedromion.

No roster is preserved on our inscription, but on the basis of those rosters that are preserved Perrin-Saminadayar notes that the number of young men who served as ephebes at this period was ca. 100-150, broadly comparable to the generation before the Sullan sack. Since at least 123/2 BC the ranks of citizen ephebes had been increased by the addition of foreigners, including Romans,<sup>401</sup> and this continued to be the case after 86 BC. This development has been plausibly connected with the participation of the ephebes in the classes of philosophers and rhetoricians, first attested in the same year: the ephebate had become, in effect, a higher education, both physical and academic, for elite youths from both Athens and internationally.<sup>402</sup> Commensurately, the emphasis on training in a range of military disciplines reduces somewhat. [IG II<sup>2</sup> 1043 +](#), 55-57, for example, mentions the trainer (*paidotribes*) and weapons trainer (*hoplomachos*), but general tutors (*paideutai*) in place of the specialists in archery, the javelin and catapult mentioned in earlier texts.<sup>403</sup> Perrin-Saminadayar delineates several other features of the ephebate at this period, including a tendency for ephebic service to be traditional in certain families,<sup>404</sup> and for members of those same families also to be attested as councillors, office-holders, and *genos* members.<sup>405</sup> Ephebes increasingly also met their own costs, including those of inscribing commemorative monuments.<sup>406</sup> This seems to have contributed to a tendency,

<sup>399</sup> A full set of Greek texts with annotated translations of these inscriptions is on AIO. The Greek texts of the two longer inscriptions, [IG II<sup>2</sup> 1039 +](#) and [IG II<sup>2</sup> 1043 +](#), are based on [Lambert and Schneider 2019](#).

<sup>400</sup> 41/0 BC W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Archons of Athens in the Hellenistic Age* (1931), 280, and Follet 2005, 13; 40/39 BC Byrne, *Athenian Onomasticon*, updated 22 September 2019, s.v. Nikandros.

<sup>401</sup> First case: Perrin 2007, 206-17, T26 ([IG II<sup>2</sup> 1006 + SEG 38.114](#), archon Demetrios, 123/2 BC). Perrin, 250-53, however, notes that the practice may in fact have started earlier. He discusses numbers of foreigners relative to Athenians on p. 253, pointing out that in [IG II<sup>2</sup> 1043 +](#) there were more foreigners than Athenians.

<sup>402</sup> See Haake 2007, 44-55.

<sup>403</sup> Cf. Perrin 2007, 259-61.

<sup>404</sup> Thus Theophilos son of Alexandros of Halai, perhaps the brother of the secretary to the ephebes in our decree, Alexandros son of Alexandros of Halai (l. 58), was himself an ephebe ca. 45 BC ([IG II<sup>2</sup> 1961](#), 13).

<sup>405</sup> On the revival of the *gene* in the second century and the dynamic linking them to the social and political elite see also [Aleshire and] Lambert, 2011, 557-59.

<sup>406</sup> In [IG II<sup>2</sup> 1043 +](#) a wealthy ephebe, Sosis of Oe, seems to meet practically the entire expenses of his ephebic year-class, including dedication of the inscription on behalf of his fellow ephebes. In the fourth decree on the stone he is awarded a painted portrait for his trouble. Cf. Perrin 2007, 256-59.

which continued in the imperial period, for them to become assimilated to an independent association, with their own administrative apparatus (as e.g. a secretary in our decree, l. 58) and looser ties to the city and its legal and institutional structures than in earlier periods. For example, there is no longer any reference to the superintendent (*kosmetes*) having undergone his end-of-year accounting (*euthynai*). The latest reference to the *euthynai* of the *kosmetes* is in *IG II<sup>2</sup> 1011*, 41-42, for the ephebes of 107/6 BC.<sup>407</sup> In *IG II<sup>2</sup> 1028*, 89-91, for the ephebes of 102/1 BC,<sup>408</sup> the *kosmetes* had presented his report (*apologismos*) before the Council; but there is no further reference to accountability processes after that.

Our inscription contains three decrees, in line with the usual post-Sullan pattern. The first is based on a report from the *kosmetes* and honours the ephebes for the due performance of the customary sacrifices; the second is based on a report from the ephebes and their fathers and honours the *kosmetes*; and the third honours the ephebes and their trainers and tutors for the performance of the generality of their duties. The emphasis on due performance of sacrifices by officials and others is a feature specifically of Athenian decrees of the Hellenistic period, reflecting an increasing expectation that the sacrifices would be funded by the honorands, in contrast to the collective modes of funding that generally applied in the Classical democracy.<sup>409</sup> The first decree is also the most formulaic of the three, and it is a decree of the Council only, while decrees 2 and 3, both rather broader in scope, are formulated as probouleumatic decrees of the Assembly.<sup>410</sup> More unusually, however, there is neither a prescript nor a surviving ephebic roster,<sup>411</sup> perhaps confirming that these post-Sullan ephebic inscriptions were erected at private initiative and expense. This is made more explicit in *IG II<sup>2</sup> 1043 +*, and is perhaps implicit in our case in the naming of the secretary to the ephebes at l. 58. There is a partially preserved inscribing clause (61-63), but no clarity there as to the agent responsible for the inscription and no provision for meeting the costs from public funds. There is also a lack of specificity about the place of erection of the stele. As restored, the text specifies that it is to be placed wherever the *kosmetes* chooses (63). There is no more clarity on this point in the other post-Sullan ephebic decrees, though tradition and the findspots of most of the fragments suggest a location in the Agora is likely.<sup>412</sup>

<sup>407</sup> Perrin 2007, 229-33, T31.

<sup>408</sup> Perrin 2007, 233-40, T32, ll. 114-116.

<sup>409</sup> On this see Perrin 2007, 256-59; Lambert 2012, 82-83. In decrees of the generation before the Sullan sack it was specified that the the entry-sacrifices were paid for by the *kosmetes*, e.g. *IG II<sup>2</sup> 1009* (Perrin 2007, T30), 10-11, for the ephebes of 117/6 BC; 1011 (Perrin 2007, T31), 35, for the ephebes of 107/6 BC; 1028, 72 (Perrin 2007, T32, 98), for the ephebes of 102/1 BC.

<sup>410</sup> For reasons that are not immediately apparent this differs from *IG II<sup>2</sup> 1039 +* and *IG II<sup>2</sup> 1043 +*, on which all the decrees are of the Council alone. It is debated to what extent the exclusion of the Assembly from some of these decrees indicates that a more oligarchic constitution prevailed in post-Sullan Athens. It may also be relevant that there are no inscribed Assembly decrees of any kind datable between 86 BC and the 40s BC. See Habicht 1997, 316-19.

<sup>411</sup> The fact that fr. *d* has long been lost makes it difficult to confirm whether a roster might originally have been appended. Pittakis' and Le Bas's transcripts of the fragment tail off at the end without clear indication of whether there was further text after ll. 65-66.

<sup>412</sup> Perhaps in the area of the Diogeneion and the Ptolemaion? Cf. [sect. 1](#) and see further *IG II<sup>2</sup> 1039* with AIO's notes.

### 3. The Inscriptions. 16 Three Decrees Honouring the Ephebes, their Superintendent and Officers

Neither the proposer of decrees 2 and 3, -on son of Anthesterios of Ikaria, nor the *kosmetes*, -os son of -enides of Marathon, are otherwise identifiable.

Decree 1 is worded in conventional terms, but one point on which the ephebic decrees of the period vary is the sacrifices specifically mentioned. In ll. 2-4 of our inscription and [IG II<sup>2</sup> 1043 +](#), 7-8, reference is made to the “entry-sacrifices” (*eisiteteria*) to Hestia at the public hearth in the city-hall (*prytaneion*) which marked the beginning of the ephebic year.<sup>413</sup> In the earlier [IG II<sup>2</sup> 1039 +](#), 5-6, by contrast, the reference in this context had been to the “exit sacrifices” (*exiteteria*) to Athena Polias on the Acropolis which marked the end of the ephebes’ year of service.<sup>414</sup>

Decrees 2 and 3 are more fragmentarily preserved and less formulaic, making it impossible to reconstruct the full flow of the sense from parallels, and a full analysis of their terms is accordingly out of place here. We might, however, pause over two points. We have already seen how, beginning in the 120s BC, formal academic education became part of the ephebic agenda. This is reflected in our text rather extensively both in the wording of decree 2, honouring the *kosmetes* for guiding the ephebes not only “to attend the schools of the philosophers and orators and grammarians”, but also to attend lectures on other topics (19-20); and this is repeated in similar wording honouring the ephebes themselves in decree 3 (40-41). The academic side of the curriculum is also reflected in the reference to generic “tutors” (*paideutai*) alongside the *kosmetes* at l. 37 and alongside the trainer (*paidotribes*) at l. 57, and in the reference to the ephebes’ exercises in grammar alongside their military and cavalry training at ll. 41-42. It is also reflected, finally, in the reference to “the dedication of books”, l. 48. This is one of a number of references in the ephebic decrees of this period to book “dedications” (i.e. apparently donations), sometimes specified as of 100 books, as provided for in a specific decree, and as being for the Ptolemaion, which seems to have functioned as the ephebic library.<sup>415</sup>

Finally, at l. 55 we have provision for announcement of the gold crown at the City Dionysia, in the competition for new tragedies. We saw above (on [12](#)) how, in the third century BC, this still seems to have had some of the connotations of celebration of “freedom and democracy” with which it was initially endowed in its first occurrence in

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<sup>413</sup> It seems from the explicit reference to registration in this context in other ephebic inscriptions, e.g. [IG II<sup>2</sup> 1011](#) (Perrin 2007, T31), 5, that the entry sacrifices were specific to the beginning of the ephebes’ term of service rather than generally marking the start of the year. Cf. Pélékidis 1962, 217-19.

<sup>414</sup> Cf. Pélékidis 1962, 256.

<sup>415</sup> Perrin 2007, T30, ll. 31-32 ([IG II<sup>2</sup> 1009](#), 7-8), for the ephebes of 117/6 BC: 100 books for the library, first (i.e. for the first time?) in accordance with the decree which Theodorides of Piraeus proposed. Cf. [IG II<sup>2</sup> 1029](#) (Perrin T33), ll. 25-26, for the ephebes of 97/6 BC: 100 books for the library of the Ptolemaion in accordance with the decree; [IG II<sup>2</sup> 1030](#) (Perrin T34), l. 36, ca. 98/7 BC: restored text similar to T33, mentioning the decree of Theodorides; [IG II<sup>2</sup> 1041](#), ll. 23-24, ca. 43 BC: restored reference to books for the library in the Ptolemaion in accordance with the decree which Metrophanes (sic) proposed, with reference in the following line to Euripides and the *Iliad*; [IG II<sup>2</sup> 1040 +](#), l. 30, ca. 20 BC, 100 books for the Ptolemaion in accordance with the decree. Cf. Pélékidis 1962, 263-64; Haake 2007, 45. On the location of the Ptolemaion see [sect. 1](#), on [15](#) and [17](#).

3. The Inscriptions. 16 Three Decrees Honouring the Ephebes, their Superintendent and Officers

409/8 BC. By this time it is difficult to see that it carries any such connotation. There had long since ceased to be anything very “democratic” about the Athenian ephebate.

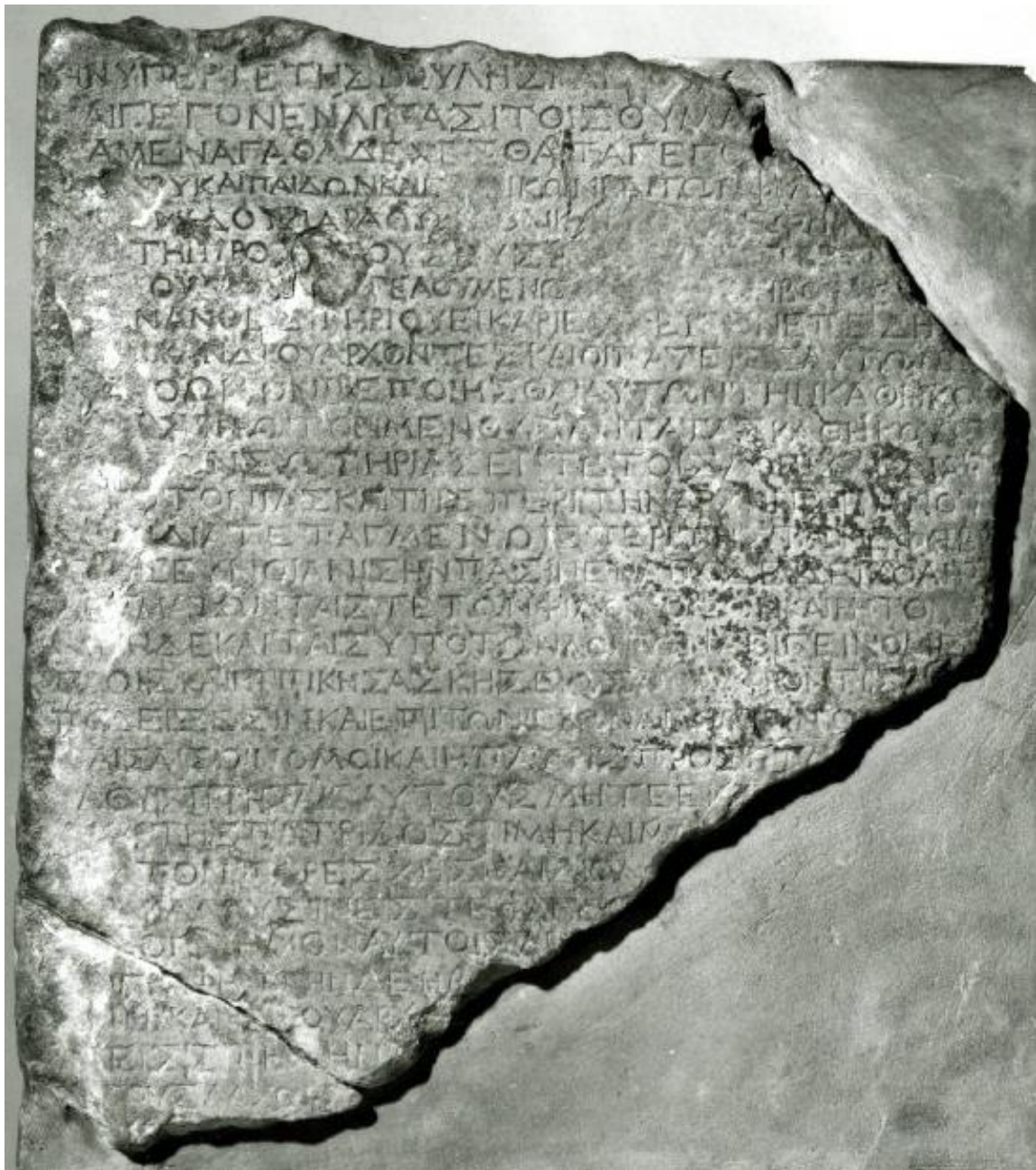


Fig. 16. 16 b © Trustees of the British Museum.



**17** DECREE ON THE CONVEYANCE OF SACRED OBJECTS FOR THE ELEUSINIAN MYSTERIES. BM 1816,0610.294 (Elgin collection, cf. [sect. 1](#)) (a), EM 8614 (b-i). b-h Athens, excavations at the church of St. Demetrios Katephores, i later identified by Lolling in the EM. Nine fragments of a stele of white marble, preserving the left and right sides and bottom. a h. 0.15, w. 0.22, th. 0.10; b-h h. 0.83, w. 0.48; i h. 0.19, w. 0.23. L. h. 0.008. The lettering is discussed in the commentary, below.

Eds. a *CIG* I 118\*; b-h S. A. Koumanoudes, *Φιλίστωρ* 2, 1862, 238-39 (= Mommsen 1864, 227-28); a-h W. Dittenberger, *Hermes* 1, 1866, 405-20; Hicks, *GIBM* I 19; *IG* III 5; a-i *Syll.*<sup>2</sup> 652 (i, containing ll. 1-4 and the left part of ll. 5-11); *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1078 (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 885; Sokolowski, *LSCG* 8); *I Eleus.* 638 (ph. b-i).

Cf. *Agora* XXXI, p. 209, 78A; Clinton 2019; Lambert forthcoming a (ph. a-i). Autopsy Lambert 2019 (a). In store. Fig. 17 (a).

*vacat*

ca. 220 AD [ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ· Ἀραβιανὸς ἦρχεν . . . .<sup>c.8</sup> . . . ἐπρυ]- non-stoich.  
[τάνευε]ν· Εὐτυχὸς ἐγγραμμάτευεν· . . . .<sup>c.8</sup> . . . ἐπεστά]-  
[τει]· Δρυαντιανὸς ἄρχων [τῶν Εὐμολπιδῶν εἶπεν]·  
[ἐπεὶ] δὴ καὶ διατελοῦμε[ν ἐν τοῖς νῦν καθάπερ] καὶ  
5 [δ]ιὰ τῶν παρωχημένων [χρόνων τελοῦντες τὰ μυστήρι-  
α, καὶ τὰ πάτρια προστάτ[ει τῷ γένει τῶν Εὐμολπιδῶν  
πεφροντικέναι ὅπως ἂν [ἐν κόσμῳ ἀχθ]εῖν τὰ ἱερὰ  
δεῦρο τ' ἐκ τῆς Ἐλευσεῖνος [καὶ πάλιν ἐκ τοῦ] ἄστεως Ἐ-  
λευσεῖνάδε, ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ [ἡ δεδοχθαι] τῷ δήμῳ προσ-  
10 τάξει τῷ κοσμητῇ τῶν [ἐφήβων κ]ατὰ τὰ ἀρχαῖα νόμι-  
μα ἄγειν Ἐλευσεῖνάδε τοῦ [ἐφήβ]ους τῇ τρίτῃ ἐπὶ δέ-  
κ[α] τοῦ Βοηδρομιῶνος μετ[ὰ τοῦ] εἰθισμένου σχήμα-  
[τος] τῆς ἅμα ἱεροῖς πομπῇ[ς], ἵνα τῇ τετράδι ἐπὶ δέκα πα-  
[ραπ]έμψωσιν τὰ ἱερὰ μέχ[ρι] τοῦ Ἐλευσεῖνίου τοῦ ὑπὸ "  
15 [τῇ π]όλει, ὥς ἂν κόσμος [τε πλείων καὶ φρουρὰ μείζων "  
[περὶ] τὰ ἱερὰ ὑπάρχῃ, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὁ φαιδυντὴς τοῖν Θε-  
[οῖν] ἀγγέλλει κατὰ τὰ πάτρια τῇ ἱερείᾳ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ὡς  
[ἦκει τ]ὰ ἱερὰ κ[α]ὶ ἡ παραπέμπουσα στρατιά· κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ  
[δὲ τῇ] ἐνάτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ Βοηδρομιῶνος προσ-  
20 [τάξει] τῷ κοσμητῇ τῶν ἐφήβων ἄγειν τοὺς ἐφή[βους]  
[πάλιν Ἐ]λευσεῖνάδε μετὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σχήματος π[αραπέμ]-  
[πο]ντας τὰ ἱερὰ· μέλει δὲ τούτου τῷ κατ' ἐν[αυτὸν]  
κοσμητῇ, ὅπως μηδέποτε τοῦτο ἐκλε[ιφθ]εῖ μη]-  
δὲ ὀλιγορηθεῖ ποτὲ τὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας [τῆς πρὸς τῷ Θε]-  
25 ῶ· παραπέμπειν δὲ τοὺς ἐφήβους π[άντας, ἔχοντας]  
τὴν πανοπλίαν, ἐστεφανωμέν[ους μυρρίνης στεφά]-  
νωι, βαδεῖζοντας ἐν τάξει· ἐπ[εὶ] δ[ὲ] προστάττομεν τοῖς ἐ]-  
φήβοις τὴν τοσαύτην ὁδοιπορῆσαι π[ρομπήν, αὐτοὺς]  
καὶ θυσιῶν καὶ σπονδῶν καὶ παιάνων τῷ[ν κατὰ τὴν]  
30 ὁδὸν μεθέξειν, ὡς ἂν τὰ τε ἱερὰ μετὰ φρουρᾶ[ς ἰσχυρο?]-



35      τέρας καὶ πομπῆς μακροτέρας ἄγοιτο, " οἳ τε ἔφ[ηβοι]  
 παρακολουθοῦντες τῇ περὶ τὸ θεῖον τῆς πόλεως [ῖν]  
 θεραπείαι καὶ ἄνδρες εὐσεβέστεροι γείνοιτο. " μεθέ-  
 ξουσιν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἔφηβοι πάντες τῶν τε ἄλλων ὧν ἂν "  
 παρέχ[ηι τ]οῖς Εὐμολπίδαις ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ γένους, καὶ τῇ[ς]  
 δι[αν]ομῆς· γενέσθαι δὲ τὴν γνώμην ταύτην φα[νε"]-  
 [ρ]ὰν καὶ τῇ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῇ καὶ τῇ βουλ[ῇι] τῶν "  
 Φ " καὶ τῷ ἱεροφάντῃ καὶ τῷ γένει τῶν Εὐ[μο]λπιδῶν·  
 40      ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦτο τὸν [τα]μίαν τ]οῦ γέ- "  
 νους τῶν Εὐμολπιδῶν ἐν τρισὶν [στή]λαις καὶ στήσαι  
 τὴν μὲν ἐν Ἐλευσινίῳ τῷ ὑπὸ τ[ῇ] πόλει, τὴν δὲ ἐν "  
 τῷ Διογενείῳ, τὴν δὲ ἐν Ἐλευσεῖνι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ πρὸ  
 τοῦ βου[λ]ευτηρίου.

The text preserved on the British Museum fragment (a) (5-19) is underlined. Rest. Clinton after previous eds., mainly Dittenberger, but 4-5, 27-28 after Wilhelm (*IG II<sup>2</sup>*), 7 and 25 after Hicks || 6 Clinton after Dittenberger 1866 (νόμιμα μετὰ Εὐμολπιδῶν Wilhelm) || 8 ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως Clinton (ἐξ] ἄστεως Dittenberger) || 28 π[ρο]μπὴν, αὐτοὺς Clinton ([ὁδὸν, δίκαιον Wilhelm).

The People decided. Arabianos was archon; - was  
 the prytany; Eutychos was secretary; - was chairman;  
 Dryantianos archon [of the Eumolpidai proposed]:  
 since we continue even now, as also  
 (5) throughout times past, to celebrate the Mysteries,  
 and tradition obliges the *genos* of the Eumolpidai  
 to have considered how the sacred objects should be brought [in good order]  
 both hither from Eleusis and back again from the city to  
 Eleusis, for good fortune the People shall decide, to  
 (10) require the superintendent of the ephebes in accordance with ancient  
 custom to lead the ephebes to Eleusis on the thirteenth  
 of Boedromion with the dignity usual  
 to a procession with sacred objects, in order that on the fourteenth  
 they may convey the sacred objects to the Eleusinion under  
 (15) the (Acro)polis, so that there should be more good order and a larger escort  
 for the sacred objects, since also the Brightener of the two Goddesses  
 traditionally reports to the priestess of Athena that  
 the sacred objects have come and the escorting host; and in the same way  
 on the nineteenth of Boedromion to require  
 (20) the superintendent of the ephebes to lead the ephebes  
 back to Eleusis accompanying the sacred objects with  
 the same dignity; and that the future superintendents should do this  
 every year, so that there should never be any omission or  
 reduction in the piety shown towards the two Goddesses;  
 (25) and all the ephebes shall take part in the procession, in

full armour, crowned with a myrtle crown,  
 proceeding in military formation; and since we oblige the  
 ephebes to process such a great distance, they shall take part  
 in the sacrifices and libations and paians on the way,  
 (30) so that the sacred objects may be led with a [stronger?] escort  
 and a longer procession, and the ephebes  
 in participating in the city's cultivation of the divine  
 should also become more pious men; and  
 all the ephebes will partake in everything which  
 (35) the archon of the *genos* provides for the Eumolpidai, and especially the  
 distribution; and this decision shall be notified  
 to the Council of the Areopagos and the Council of  
 500 and to the hierophant and the *genos* of the Eumolpidai;  
 and the treasurer of the *genos* of the Eumolpidai  
 (40) shall inscribe this decree on three stelai and stand  
 one in the Eleusinion under the (Acro)polis, another in  
 the Diogeneion, and another at Eleusis in the sanctuary in front  
 of the Council chamber.

The archon Domitius Arabianos of Marathon, whose nomenclature is more fully attested in four other inscriptions,<sup>416</sup> can be identified with the M. Ulpus Domitius Aristaos Arabianos who was legate of Asia ca. 208-217 AD;<sup>417</sup> and the proposer and archon of the Eumolpidai, Flavius Dryantianos son of Kallaischros of Marathon, is attested in two inscriptions commemorating his service as ephebic liturgist in 215/6 AD.<sup>418</sup> This decree can accordingly be dated ca. 220 AD, and is one of the latest inscribed decrees of the Athenian Assembly, and the latest of all without an honorific element.<sup>419</sup>

<sup>416</sup> *Agora* XV 469-472.

<sup>417</sup> *PIR*<sup>2</sup> D 134; Byrne, *RCA* p. 218.

<sup>418</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2208, 8; 3763, 3. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> F 261; Byrne, *RCA* p. 233. On the Eumolpidai, the *genos* which supplied the hierophant of the Eleusinian Mysteries, cf. [1](#) with notes.

<sup>419</sup> Lambert forthcoming a, n. 5, details the other five latest inscribed decrees of the Council, Assembly and Areopagos, datable in or about the early third century AD, viz: **(1)** *Agora* XVI 342 (= *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1081/5 + 1116 + other fragments), about the erection of a colossal statue, ca. 180-220 (203?) AD. Apparently includes an Assembly decree (14). Mentions People and Council (of 500?) (17-18). **(2)** *Agora* XVI 340 (cf. *SEG* 21.504) and 341 (= *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1076 + other fragments). Apparently two Assembly decrees providing divine honours for the family of Septimius Severus, in particular the Empress, Julia Domna, after 196 AD (cf. [AIUK 7, Chatsworth, no. 2](#)). **(3)** *Agora* XV 460 (= *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1077) + *SEG* 26.123. See also Oliver 1970, 109-12 no. 23 (includes translation). Honours for the imperial house on the accession of Geta, 209/10 AD. Initiated in Council of 500, but proposed as resolution of Council of 500, Areopagos and Assembly. **(4)** *SEG* 21.505 and *SEG* 21.506 (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1064) + 30.82 + 33.137. Two copies of decrees honouring M. Ulpus Eubiotos Leuros and his sons, ca. 230 AD. Decree of Council and People and a slightly different version passed by the Areopagos. **(5)** *Agora* XVI 339 (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1104 + other fragments), revised by Follet, *SEG* 59.136, decree of the Areopagos, 195/6 AD, assigning specific duties to chosen men (?), with possible reference to resolutions (*dogmasin*) of Council of 500 and People (3-5), and featuring the

It belongs in a period when the Assembly, the Council of 500 and the Areopagos all passed resolutions on behalf of the city as a whole, both separately and jointly,<sup>420</sup> and the question arises as to the extent of any involvement by the other two bodies in this decree. At ll. 36-38 provision is made to notify the Council and the Areopagos of the Assembly's resolution (*gnomē*<sup>421</sup>), from which Clinton (*I Eleus.*) inferred that the Assembly was operating independently of the other bodies in this case. He suggested that, given the close involvement of the *genos* Eumolpidai with the formulation of the decree, including the unusual designation of the decree's proposer as archon of the Eumolpidai, it did not perhaps need the prior attention of the Council and the Areopagos, since it was essentially a Eumolpid matter. Even at this late date, however, there is no other clear case of an Assembly decree being made without *probouleusis* by the Council of 500, and some evidence of the Council continuing to function as the probouleutic body for the Assembly.<sup>422</sup> The fact that the decision formulae at ll. 1 and 9 do not mention the Council would be consistent with a non-probouleumatic decree, i.e. one for which the Council had exercised a probouleutic function, but which had been reformulated in the Assembly, and indeed Rhodes listed this as the latest of all non-probouleumatic Assembly decrees.<sup>423</sup> The counter-argument to *probouleusis* is that, at the other end of the process, at ll. 36-38, the Council is "notified", along with the Areopagos, of the measure taken by the Assembly, and this is at first sight difficult to reconcile with the Council's already having had a role in formulating a *probouleuma*. It is not impossible, however. In passing a non-probouleumatic decree, the Assembly had on any account reworked the Council's proposal, so notifying the Council of the Assembly's final decision would not be wholly vacuous. Moreover the notification of the other two bodies (and perhaps too of the Eumolpidai) might be construed not as a mere courtesy, nor as required for ratification of the measure, but as an invitation to them to pass equivalent measures. Such referrals of resolutions seem to have been a common feature of the city's decision-making at this period. Thus, for example, in the decree marking the accession of Geta in 209/10 AD, the Council of 500 (l. 5) appears to initiate a resolution (*gnomē*) of all three bodies;<sup>424</sup> the honours for M. Ulpius Eubiotos Leuros, ca. 230 AD, were passed in two slightly different versions, one by the Council and People, the other by the Areopagos;<sup>425</sup> and, to take an earlier example, the decree for the birthday of Augustus seems to be a decree of the Council based on a previous decree of the People, an arrangement which might have

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fire-carrier (*pyrphoros*, a priesthood of the *genos* Kerykes, cf. *I Eleus.* 300, ll. 9-10; for this official in inscriptions of the Roman period, cf. Geagan 1967, 111). This includes BM 1816,0610.225 and will be edited in *AIUK* 4.3.

<sup>420</sup> Cf. Rhodes 1972, 87 n. 1; Geagan 1967, 32-91.

<sup>421</sup> Here uniquely of an Assembly resolution at Athens. In earlier Athenian decree language the term was commonly used of a *probouleuma* referred by the Council to the Assembly. The idea of referral of a resolution seems to be retained here, cf. e.g. *Agora* XV 460, 9. Cf. Geagan 1967, 85 with 161-62.

<sup>422</sup> Explicitly at *SEG* 30.82, ll. 30-31 (decree honouring M. Ulpius Eubiotos Leuros, ca. 230 AD). On the requirement for *probouleusis* cf. [sect. 2.2](#).

<sup>423</sup> Rhodes 1972, 266.

<sup>424</sup> *Agora* XV 460, cf. Oliver 1970, 109-12 no. 23.

<sup>425</sup> *SEG* 30.82 = Oliver 1980.

paralleled rather closely the arrangements I am suggesting are implicit in our decree.<sup>426</sup> It does not seem unduly implausible that at this period the Council of 500 might both have continued to perform *probouleusis* for the Assembly and have been invited from time to time to pass independent resolutions based on decrees of the Assembly.<sup>427</sup>

The archaistic prescript of the decree accurately imitates the paratactic style of an Assembly decree of the late fifth century or early fourth century BC, using, for example,  $\chi \tilde{\eta}\rho\chi\epsilon\nu$  in place of the later standard,  $\epsilon\pi\iota \chi \tilde{\alpha}\rho\chi\omicron\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$ , and  $\chi \epsilon\pi\rho\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\nu \cdot \chi \epsilon\gamma\rho\alpha\mu\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\nu$  in place of the later  $\epsilon\pi\iota \tau\eta\varsigma -\iota\delta\omicron\varsigma \pi\rho\upsilon\tau\alpha\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma \tilde{\eta}\iota \chi \epsilon\gamma\rho\alpha\mu\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\nu$ .<sup>428</sup> This feature is unparalleled in the few extant contemporary decree prescripts. It is not found, for example, in *Agora* XV 460, of 209/10 AD.<sup>429</sup> Another notable archaising feature is the use of the word *polis* to signify Acropolis, in the phrase “the Eleusinion under the Acropolis” ( $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\chi\rho\iota \tau\omicron\tilde{\upsilon} \text{ } \epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\iota\nu\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon \tau\omicron\tilde{\upsilon} \upsilon\pi\omicron \tau\tilde{\eta}\iota \pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\iota$ , 15-16,  $\epsilon\nu \text{ } \epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu\acute{\iota}\omicron\iota \tau\tilde{\omega}\iota \upsilon\pi\omicron \tau\tilde{\eta}\iota \pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\iota$ , 41).<sup>430</sup>

Other features are more conservative or old-fashioned than archaising: for example the retention of iota adscript in all final diphthongs, the iota being dropped only in  $\pi\alpha\rho\omega\chi\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\nu$  in l. 5.<sup>431</sup> The same could be said about the lettering. On the one hand there are none, or almost none, of the features that had become common in the later Hellenistic and Roman periods: no alpha with split bar (a late Hellenistic development), no cursive forms (though there is some tendency for letter strokes to become more rounded), few hyperextended diagonals on letters such as alpha, delta and lambda.<sup>432</sup> Most of the other inscriptions dated to the third century AD in Clinton’s corpus (622-665)

<sup>426</sup> *Agora* XVI 336, 1 and 4, cf. Geagan 1967, 73-74.

<sup>427</sup> On the extensive record of decrees passed by the Council alone at this period cf. Geagan 1967, 68-74.

<sup>428</sup> On the development of prescript styles of Athenian decrees see Henry 1977 (this decree, p. 95). Cf. [sect. 2.3](#). The accuracy of the imitation probably implies that the drafter had referred to inscribed decrees of the Classical period, of which there must have been many examples still standing; or perhaps to archival copies.

<sup>429</sup> It does, however, occur much earlier in the decree providing ca. 19 BC (?) for a festival celebrating the birthday of Augustus, *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1071 = *Agora* XVI 336 = Schmalz 2009, 17 no. 8. Lambert forthcoming explores this and other points of connection between these two decrees.

<sup>430</sup> In the formulaic decree provision for erecting stelai “on the Acropolis”,  $\epsilon\mu \pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\iota$  gives way to  $\epsilon\nu \acute{\alpha}\kappa\rho\omicron\pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\iota$  in around 386 BC (Henry 1982; 2002, 96 n. 37). The same archaism is not now restored in the erection clause of the decree for Julia Domna, *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1076, 38-39, for the revised text of which see *Agora* XVI 341, 44.

<sup>431</sup> Practice in this regard remained to a considerable extent unstandardised in the Roman period, but there was probably a certain artificiality in its retention in formal texts of the second and third centuries AD (Threatte I 362; cf. Woodhead’s notes on *Agora* XVI 339-342).

<sup>432</sup> “Cursive” forms (such as lunate sigma =  $\varsigma$ , lunate epsilon =  $\epsilon$ , omega =  $\omega$ ) come in in the Roman period, but never wholly oust the older “straight” forms. On these developments see Muehsam 1952-3, 55-57. One “late” feature adopted in this inscription, however, is the long vertical of the phi (and psi), extending far into the interline above and below. This is common even in more conservatively cut inscriptions at this period. The pi with right vertical extending to, or nearly to, the bottom of the stoichos, and the mu and sigma with straight rather than splayed outer strokes, have their origins in Hellenistic inscribing practice (cf. [sect. 2.5](#)).

display some of these progressive features, though a few are similarly conservative.<sup>433</sup> Our inscription does not, however, adopt the stoichedon style: the latest instance of that is in the decree for the birthday of Augustus already mentioned,<sup>434</sup> nor does it deploy the old Attic alphabet, as occurred in some earlier inscriptions of the Roman period, chiefly Hadrianic.<sup>435</sup>

As Clinton notes, the archaism in form is of a piece with the substantive content of a decree whose main purpose was to recreate the ancient arrangements for the ephebes to escort, on 14 Boedromion, the “sacred objects” that were required for the Eleusinian Mysteries from Eleusis to Athens, so that they could be escorted back again to Eleusis in procession on 19 Boedromion.<sup>436</sup> How far the arrangements recreated were authentically “ancient”, however, is unclear. Clinton points out that, though there were laws which regulated the procession,<sup>437</sup> the decree does not cite them, but appeals rather to the vaguer authority of “tradition” (*ta patria*). We can perhaps pin this down a little further, as the decree cites the wording of the announcement traditionally made by the “Brightener” (*phaidyntes*) to the priestess of Athena, that “the sacred objects have come and the escorting host” (ἡ παραπέμπουσα στρατιά). The “Brightener” certainly held an authentically ancient office,<sup>438</sup> and one gains the impression that it is a desire to have reality correspond with this traditional announcement that is the main basis for the measures taken in the decree, including the requirement that the ephebes process in full armour and in military formation, as it were like a proper “army”.<sup>439</sup>

We do not know what the “sacred objects” were, but other evidence helps fill out the picture of the processions in which they were carried from Eleusis to the city on 14 Boedromion and back again on 19 Boedromion.<sup>440</sup> It seems from a decree of 214/3 BC

<sup>433</sup> E.g. *I Eleus.* 622 (plate 281), 626 (pl. 284), 645 (pl. 295), [649](#) (pl. 297). For comparanda in the lettering of other Athenian decrees of the Roman period see the notes of Woodhead on *Agora* XVI 333-342. Note in particular, perhaps a generation earlier than our decree, the points of comparison with (e.g. very extended vertical of phi), and difference from (e.g. minimal hyperextended diagonals on triangular letters) *Agora* XVI 341, the later version of the honours for Julia Domna (more finely inscribed than the earlier version, 340); and *Agora* XVI 342 (provision for a colossal statue), with its “lettering of the ‘imperial style’ at its neatest and most elegant”, which, like our decree has e.g. alpha with straight bar and very elongated vertical of phi, but also has e.g. cursive omega and decorative crossing central strokes of sigma.

<sup>434</sup> Henry 1977, 95.

<sup>435</sup> Threatte I 9. Notable among these are two funerary monuments associated with Herodes Atticus: *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 6791; and from Rome, *IG* XIV 1390.

<sup>436</sup> The character of the archaism in this decree is explored further in Lambert forthcoming a.

<sup>437</sup> *I Eleus.* 250 of the second or first century BC, and probably *I Eleus.* 138, of the fourth century BC. Clinton also notes that the Mysteries might have been covered in the Athenian law code of Hadrian (on which cf. Geagan 1967, 122-23; *SEG* 30.89).

<sup>438</sup> Attested ca. 500 BC in [I Eleus. 7](#), 14. Cf. Clinton, *I Eleus.* vol. 2, p. 13.

<sup>439</sup> Note the emphasis on the ephebes being “in full armour” (ἔχοντας] | τὴν πανοπλίαν, II. 25-26). This echoes the emphasis on arms in the Hellenistic decrees honouring the ephebes for their role in the Mysteries, cf. n. 443. This tradition may ultimately go back to the episode in 407 BC, when Alcibiades provided a military escort in order to put an end to the processions by sea which had been necessitated by the Spartan occupation of Dekeleia and the passes to Eleusis (Plut. *Alcibiades* 34).

<sup>440</sup> For more details see Parker 2005, 346-47.



that the “sacred objects” were conveyed on a cart supplied by the *epimeletai* of the Mysteries;<sup>441</sup> and in ca. 320 BC the wealthy Xenokles of Sphettos had famously built a stone bridge over the river Kephisos, among other things “in order that the sacred objects may be conveyed safely and finely”.<sup>442</sup> We also learn from late Hellenistic decrees honouring ephebes that at that period the ephebes did not escort the sacred objects all the way from Eleusis, but went out from the city to meet the procession, at a place specified in one inscription as “Echo” (location unknown).<sup>443</sup> Our decree seems to have been designed to restore a (possibly imagined) earlier arrangement. There is one point, however, on which there is an apparent discrepancy: in our inscription the sacred objects are escorted back to Eleusis on 19 Boedromion, whereas the main procession to Eleusis, with (scil. a statue of) Iakchos, is attested by Plutarch on 20 Boedromion.<sup>444</sup> One solution is to posit two separate processions from Athens to Eleusis on two consecutive days,<sup>445</sup> but this seems unlikely, not least since the ephebes are also associated with the procession of Iakchos, and they cannot have escorted two processions from Athens to Eleusis on consecutive days.<sup>446</sup> A change of date at some point cannot be ruled out,<sup>447</sup> but seems unlikely given the conservative tendency of Hellenistic and Roman Athens in relation to the religious calendar. It may rather be that the procession of the “sacred objects” and the procession of Iakchos are one and the same and underlying Plutarch’s date is a mistaken memory or mistaken inference from a literary source. There is a good candidate for the source in question, Eur. *Ion* 1074-77 (chorus speaking): αἰσχύνομαι τὸν πολὺν|μον θεόν, εἰ παρὰ Καλλιχόροισι παγαῖς | λαμπάδα θεωρὸς εἰκάδων | ἐννύχιον ἄπνους ὄψεσθαι, “I am ashamed before the god of many hymns [= Iakchos], if beside the springs of Kallichoros [at Eleusis] he beholds, a sleepless onlooker, the night-time torch of the twentieth day”. Significantly, Plutarch’s language directly reflects Euripides’, using the same plural term for the twentieth of the month, εἰκάδες.<sup>448</sup> One can see how Euripides’ passage might be interpreted to imply that the main procession of the Mysteries took place

<sup>441</sup> *IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 1164*, 17-19. The *epimeletai* are praised for meeting the cost of the cart themselves.

<sup>442</sup> *I Eleus. 95*.

<sup>443</sup> *IG II<sup>2</sup> 1011*, 7-8. The ephebes in the archonship of Aristarchos (107/6 BC) ὑπαπήντησαν δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐν ὄπλοις μέχρι τῆς Ἥχου καὶ προέπεμψαν αὐτὰ, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἰακχόν· (“and they also met the sacred objects in arms as far as Echo and escorted them in procession, and similarly Iakchos”). Similar wording, but without reference to Echo, e.g. in *1006*, 9 (archon Demetrios, 123/2 BC).

<sup>444</sup> Plut. *Phok.* 28, *Camill.* 19.

<sup>445</sup> Thus Mansfield 1985, 437; Clinton 1988, 70; Robertson 1998; Clinton ad *I Eleus.* 638, arguing against the suggestion of Graf 1996, 62-63, of two processions on the same day, one setting out from the Iakcheion, the other from the City Eleusinion.

<sup>446</sup> Above n. 443. Cf. Parker 2005, 348-49. Clinton 2019 seeks to get around this objection by positing an arrangement whereby the ephebes, having arrived at Eleusis with the sacred objects on 19 Boedromion, went out again a relatively short distance from there on 20 Boedromion to meet Iakchos. As Clinton himself points out, however (p. 169), Plutarch’s description of the procession for which Alcibiades arranged an escort in 407 BC implies that there was a single procession, not separate processions for Iakchos and the sacred objects. His response, that the two processions could sometimes be combined “in times of emergency”, is not to my mind persuasive.

<sup>447</sup> Suggested by W. K. Pritchett, *ZPE* 128, 1999, 85-86.

<sup>448</sup> Cf. Robertson 1998, 547-48 n. 2.

on 20 Boedromion, but the night-time event for Iakchos involving torches he alludes to is not, it seems, the main procession, which took place during the day. One can reconcile Euripides with our inscription quite easily by supposing that the main procession took place on 19 Boedromion, and was followed, on arrival at Eleusis, by the event involving torches, through the night of 19-20, or possibly 20-21 Boedromion. Euripides' night-time rite might plausibly be identified with the "night-time rite" described in strikingly similar terms by the chorus of Aristophanes *Frogs*, 341-43: ἔγειρ' ὦ φλογέας λάμπαδας ἐν χερσὶ τινάσσων, | Ἰακχ', ὦ Ἰακχε, | νυκτέρου τελετῆς φωσφόρος ἀστήρ. "Raise flaming torches, brandishing them in your hands, Iakchos, O Iakchos, light-bearing star of the night-time rite". It can also be associated with "the reception of Iakchos at Eleusis" mentioned more prosaically in an Assembly decree of 214/3 BC honouring the managers of the Mysteries.<sup>449</sup>

The decree is to be inscribed in three copies, one at each end of the processional route, at Eleusis in front of the Council chamber and at the City Eleusinion, and one in the Diogeneion, which served as the headquarters of the ephebes at this period. This inscription is either the Diogeneion or the City Eleusinion copy.<sup>450</sup> *IG II*<sup>2</sup> 1079, also found in the lower city, is a fragment of the other of these two copies, preserving part of the equivalent text to our ll. 9-18. A Council chamber in the sanctuary at Eleusis is epigraphically attested as early as 408/7 BC;<sup>451</sup> the Council met there during the Mysteries,<sup>452</sup> and Clinton suggests that it was near the entrance to the sanctuary and was as such an especially suitable location for a decree relating to the procession.

A final feature of the decree is notable: the Assembly provides for the treasurer of the *genos* Eumolpidae to inscribe the three copies of the decree, the clear implication being that the cost of inscription will be carried by the *genos*. We saw with [16](#) how, in contrast to the earlier Hellenistic decrees, the post-Sullan ephebes carried the costs of their own commemorative monuments. Albeit nearly three hundred years later, on a long view this is a manifestation of the same phenomenon: the withdrawal of the city from funding its own inscriptions, and the reliance instead on wealthy individuals or groups within it directly implicated in the decree. This doubtless in part explains the relatively small number of decrees of the Assembly that were inscribed in the Roman period. It is notable also that the proposer of the decree is designated explicitly as the archon of the Eumolpidae. We have here therefore a measure which the Eumolpidae take the lead in proposing and inscribing; and the decree is also to be reported to the Eumolpidae and their leading priest, the hierophant. We saw on [15](#) how the prytany decrees of the Hellenistic period had become a ritual dance, enacting the proper "democratic" relations of prytany, Council and People, although the underlying realities of power had shifted since the

<sup>449</sup> [IG II](#)<sup>3</sup> 1, 1164, 20-21 (ἐπεμελήθησαν δὲ . . . | καὶ τῆς Ἐλευσίνι τοῦ Ἰαάκχου ὑποδοχῆς). On the focus on Iakchos and light in the reception of the procession of the Mysteries at Eleusis, cf. Parker 2005, 350, who comments that "it is generally assumed that on arrival at the sanctuary at dusk, the weary travellers will have continued to revel in his honour".

<sup>450</sup> See further [sect. 1](#).

<sup>451</sup> *I Eleus.* 52 A II 14 = B II 25. For other epigraphical references to it see Clinton, ad *I Eleus.* 638, p. 409.

<sup>452</sup> When it was known as the "Sacred Council", *IG II*<sup>2</sup> 1072, 3 = *SEG* 3.105; *I Eleus.* 551.

Classical democracy. This decree, so clearly reaching back in form and substance to the Classical past, exudes a comparable sense of “performance”. The reality may be that the Eumolpidae were in the driving seat; but the form of this decree adheres to proper democratic precedents. Even at this late moment in the history of Athens, and in the twilight of its long history of decree inscribing, it is the People that issues the decisions, the People that instructs the ephebes and the People that commands the powerful Eleusinian *gene*, as it had done centuries earlier in relation to the same topic, the Eleusinian Mysteries, in 1. At Athens the *demos*, this decree proclaims, still holds the *kratos*.



Fig. 17. 17 a © Trustees of the British Museum.

**CONCORDANCES TO AIUK 4.1 AND 4.2**

<i>AIUK 4.1</i>	<i>GIBM I</i>	<i>IG I<sup>3</sup></i>	<i>IG II<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>IG II<sup>3</sup> 1</i>	<i>SEG</i>	<i>Syll.<sup>3</sup></i>	<i>CGRN</i>	<i>I Eleus.</i>	ML	OR	RO
<b>1</b>	74	232					7				
<b>2</b>	73	246					20				
<b>3</b>	1	244					19			107	

<i>AIUK 4.2</i>	<i>GIBM I</i>	<i>IG I<sup>3</sup></i>	<i>IG II<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>IG II<sup>3</sup> 1</i>	<i>SEG</i>	<i>Syll.<sup>3</sup></i>	<i>SdA</i>	<i>I Eleus.</i>	ML	OR	RO
<b>1</b>	2	6				42		19		106	
<b>2</b>	3	15a									
<b>3</b>	4	41									
<b>4</b>	5	53				71	162		63	149A	
<b>5</b>	6	34							46	154	
<b>6</b>	7	132									
<b>7</b>			20		29.86						11
<b>8</b>	8		58								
<b>9</b>	10		192								
<b>10</b>				395							
<b>11</b>	14		450			320					
<b>12</b>	15		653	870		370					
<b>13</b>	9		697	984							
<b>14</b>	17		770	993							
<b>15</b>	18		916	1263							
<b>16</b>	39		1042								
<b>17</b>	19		1078			885		638			